

546-0675-87
127 pg
319 c/

JPRS-NEA-87-004

9 JANUARY 1987

Near East/South Asia Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

9 JANUARY 1987

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Survey of Foreign Broadcasts in Arabic (AL-MAJALLAH, various dates)	1
Survey Introduction, by Nadim Nasir	1
The Voice of America, by 'Atif 'Abd-al-Jawad	2
Radio Moscow, by Kamran Qaradaghi	7
Radio Monte Carlo, by Mustafa al-Yahyaw	10
Radio Switzerland	14
Radio Beijing	20
Israeli Radio	21
BBC Overseas Service	24
Radio Iran, by 'Ali Nurizadeh	30

ARAB AFRICA

ALGERIA

Prices, Unemployment, Frustrated Youth Heighten Social Tensions (Frederic Fritscher; LE MONDE, 23 Nov 86)	32
General Benloucif's Dismissal as Chief of Staff Examined (Frederic Fritscher; LE MONDE, 23 Nov 86)	35

EGYPT

New Cabinet Ministers Discuss Priorities, Aims (Muhammad Zayid; AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH, 14 Nov 86)	37
--	----

Future of Party System Analyzed (AL-WAFD, 6 Nov 86)	43
TUNISIA	
New Premier Discusses Various Recent Problems, Events (Rachid Sfar Interview; AL-MUSTAQBAL, 22 Nov 86)	48
ARAB EAST/ISRAEL	
IRAQ	
Modern Telephone Services for Babil Governorate ('Ayid Muhammad Mansur; AL-THAWRAH, 28 Nov 86)	60
ISRAEL	
Herzog Visit to Singapore Angers Malaysia (Greer Fay Cashman; THE JERUSALEM POST, 20 Nov 86)	62
Ori Or, Former Northern Commander, Profiled (Hayim Revia; HADASHOT, 6 Jun 86)	64
Details of Assassination of Mustafa Hafiz Disclosed (Gil Qeysari; MA'ARIV, 12 Jun 86)	71
History of Land Fraud Scandal in Territories Described (Nahma Do'aq; YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 12 Jun 86)	74
Briefs Economic Pact With Ecuador	84
JORDAN	
Various General Security Promotions Reviewed (AL-DUSTUR, 21 Nov 86)	85
Forestry Chief Describes Development Plans (AL-DUSTUR, 22 Nov 86)	87
LEBANON	
Syria Sets Conditions for Reconciliation With Al-Jumayyil (AL-QABAS, 15 Oct 86)	89
Lebanese Islamic Salvation Front Receives Monetary Support (Naji al-Ahmad; AL-QABAS, 15 Oct 86)	91

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

- Writer Shafiq Al-Hut Profiled
(AL-MUSTAQBAL, 18 Oct 86) 93

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

- Al-Bid Discusses Rehabilitation, Party, National Goals
(Nura Fakhuri; AL-MAJALLAH, 22-28 Oct 86) 98

SOUTH ASIA

BANGLADESH

- Writer Examines Mounting Trade Gap With India
(Syed Badiuzzaman; THE NEW NATION, 7 Nov 86) 101
- FRG To Furnish Technical, Financial, Food Aid
(THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 7 Nov 86) 102
- Fall in Foreign Exchange Reserves Averted
(THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER, 13 Nov 86) 103

INDIA

- Statement Decries U.S. Curbs on Trade
(THE STATESMAN, 17 Nov 86) 104

IRAN

- Paper Comments on Relations With U.S.
(Editorial; TEHRAN TIMES, 29 Nov 86) 105
- Syrian Envoy Comments on 'British Aims' in Severance of Ties
(ETTELA'AT, 28 Oct 86) 107
- Minister Describes Industry Growth Under War Conditions
(KEYHAN, 28 Sep 86) 111
- Kho'iniha Warns Anti-Religious, 'Political Bankrupts'
(ETTELA'AT, 27 Oct 86) 115

PAKISTAN

- Politics Based on Show of Weapons in Sind Discussed
(Mohammad Ali; NAWA-I-WAQT, 11 Oct 86) 118

/7310

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

SURVEY OF FOREIGN BROADCASTS IN ARABIC

Survey Introduction

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 8-14 Oct 86 p 50

[Article by Nadim Nasir: "Foreign Radio Stations Directed at the Arabs, Part 1"]

[Text] The Soviets were the first who, during the thirties, realized the importance of radio broadcasting aimed at a foreign audience. Italy, Germany, and Britain followed them. America entered the field late, with its well-known station, The Voice of America, after World War II. Since that time, methods of broadcasting to a foreign audience have made great strides, moving from blatant propaganda to carefully studied psychological methods, clever rumors, and colored facts, to obtain the listener's confidence and to move and influence him.

The Arab homeland, with its important strategic position and hidden resources, fell victim to these broadcasts. Cleverly, they focused on its countries and the features that distinguished each country from the others, lest this gigantic homeland transform itself into a single political unit constituting, by virtue of location, history, and resources, a major world power.

Indeed, the interest of the Arab masses in listening to these stations caused them to persist and expand. It happened that in 1968 the BBC halted its Hebrew-language broadcasting, on the argument that the Israelis were racists who refused to listen to anything but their own radio; if they wanted to listen to a foreign station, they preferred that it be in a foreign language, not their own, since they were of a variety of origins and were conversant with foreign languages. At the same time, an official of the BBC commented, saying "Britain has no interests in Israel that call for the existence of a Hebrew broadcast." The truth is that allied and friendly countries do not aim their radio stations at each other. This is the case among the NATO countries. It is also true for The Voice of America in relation to Israel, for there is no broadcasting in the Hebrew language.

The influence of broadcasting is not limited to the political field, but reaches beyond it into the area of customs, cultural inheritance, the family, society, and the spirit. This influence will inevitably increase when the

major countries begin aiming television broadcasting via artificial satellites, instead of radio broadcasting. The capabilities for this exist and are ready to be used.

The broad interest by the Arabs in foreign Arabic-language broadcasts can be attributed to a number of reasons and considerations. The most important of them are:

--The inadequacy of the Arabic media and their failure to respond to the needs of the citizen thirsty for information and eager to follow critical international developments. This is because the domestic media are subject to censorship and present issues from a single point of view, all but insulting the listener's intelligence and understanding, so that he is forced to seek alternative sources.

--Exaggerations in information practices, such as the media campaigns that go on between one Arab country and another. Most of these lack credibility and persuasiveness and are repeated in a way that alienates.

--The negativeness of the Arabic media and their failure, due to the pervasive bureaucracy in all fields, to work positively and intelligently with international media and with the world press and broadcasting representatives.

It remains to be said that the proliferation of radio broadcasts aimed at the Arab world and the Arabs' interest in them as an alternative to their own stations, news, and media, are phenomena deserving broad study and broader concern on the part of Arab officials and the Arab League.

AL-MAJALLAH has chosen a number of foreign radio stations aimed at the Arab world for a press report to be published in installments. It will include the stations of hostile countries, neutral countries, and the major powers.

In this issue, there is a report on the broadcasts of the two superpowers, America and the Soviet Union, as well as one on Radio Monte Carlo.

The Voice of America

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 8-14 Oct 86 pp 51-53

[Article by 'Atif 'Abd-al-Jawad: "The Voice of America Aims at a Certain Class and Is Not Concerned About the Man in the Street"]

[Text] Across from the Space Museum in the American capital stands The Voice of America. Crossing the street between the museum and the radio station is like moving from one world to another. The first represents the most impressive achievements of the human mind and American technology. The second seems to have no connection to America itself. When I entered The Voice of America radio station for the first time, I received two great shocks. The first was when I went to the Arabic broadcasting offices and discovered that

they are located in an underground "cave" inhabited, along with the Arab colleagues who work there, by tiny crawling and flying insects, and exuding a stale odor occasionally dispersed by gusts of air conditioning. The second shock came when I entered the broadcasting studios and found them to be old and dilapidated, operating with equipment going back to World War II.

A visiting broadcaster from a Third World country expressed his great surprise at what he saw at The Voice of America, saying, "We, a poor country, get modern broadcasting equipment from America, while in America itself you are still using these ancient studios!"

The explanations that officials have offered to visitors over the course of many years are that the American Congress has approved funding a larger budget for the station and that the work of renovation and modernization will begin shortly. However, the truth known only to those who have worked in the American government is that there is a federal law prohibiting the disposal of any government-used equipment or machinery as long as it remains usable. This is what has for many years been preventing those responsible for The Voice of America from replacing their dilapidated studios with modern ones. To overcome this legal obstacle, a high-level political decision was needed that was not accomplished until Ronald Reagan came to power.

Reagan came to the White House raising the flag of opposition to communism in a manner recalling the days of the cold war. It was natural for the American president to take an interest in The Voice of America as a tool of his foreign policy. Reagan himself saw the condition of the studios when he went to the station to broadcast a radio message directly to the Soviet people over The Voice of America. He therefore decided to urge Congress to increase the station's budget, modernize the studios, and strengthen the transmitters. Yet, in spite of the fact that the Arabic station is the third largest section at The Voice of America--after the international English-language section and the Soviet section broadcasting in the various Soviet languages--the only improvement in it until now has been its move from that dark, subterranean cave to the second floor. Now, at least, some daylight reaches it. The second development to affect the Arabic broadcast of The Voice of America in the last few months is an increase in the number of hours of broadcasting.

Role of the CIA

Contrary to the belief common in certain circles, The Voice of America is not affiliated with the Central Intelligence Agency (known as the CIA). In reality, it has no link to it, either financial, administrative, or political. Congress has even issued a decision separating Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe, the two stations that were until recently administered by the CIA, from the agency and establishing another agency to supervise the two stations and to be directly under Congress. The Voice of America is under the United States Information Agency, an independent government agency headed by Charles Wick, a close friend of President Reagan. The Voice of America broadcasts in 40 different languages, including Arabic. Until the late seventies, the Arabic section used to broadcast its programs from the island of Rhodes. Then it moved to Washington, following the development of the use of artificial satellites for radio transmission.

Although The Voice of America is affiliated with USIA, two other authorities also exert control over the programs it broadcasts in its various languages: Congress and the U.S. State Department. Congress reviews Voice of America programs before deciding on the station's budget. It once happened that some congressmen questioned the value of broadcasting the Arabic music program, "What Listeners Request," and demanded its cancellation because, from their point of view, it did not serve American interests in any way. Programs like this continue to stimulate a great deal of debate whenever Congress examines The Voice of America's program. The broadcasters always succeed in convincing Congress that such programs, while not in themselves important, are a means of attracting the listener to other important programs. Congress reluctantly agrees. The most important program broadcast by The Voice of America is the program known as "Opinion of the Station." It is really the opinion of the government, and the program states at its beginning that the opinion of the station reflects the viewpoint of the American government on a topic of the hour. Here is where the role of the U.S. State Department, which defines these topics and American policy on them, comes in. "Opinion of the Station" is broadcast five times a week and is translated verbatim into the various languages, with no adjustment or replacement allowed. The Voice of America is also interested in the subjects known as Americana, i.e., subjects that present aspects of American life and activities in the fields of society, art, and industry. Usually, these subjects give an impression that the American, whether a farmer in his field or a scientist in his laboratory, is a superman. The Arabic broadcasters or those of other nationalities do not have much leeway in turning this superman into ordinary humanity.

At the start of the Reagan administration, attempts began to change and innovate Voice of America programs; for, in spite of the fact that The Voice of America's charter stipulates that the station represents the American people, with all its variety of opinions, ethnic groups, and races, the station has always represented primarily the American government, not the American people. With these attempts at innovation, there appeared programs like "Ideas in Review," "Viewpoints," and others like them that take account of the variety of opinions that Americans hold on various issues.

The news service offered by The Voice of America is perhaps one of the station's greatest merits. It would be fair to say that The Voice of America pursues accuracy in its news to the point of sacrificing precedence in broadcasting. The station relies on the principle that at least two sources must confirm a story before it is allowed to be broadcast. The station has therefore often lost a journalistic scoop in order to guarantee the accuracy of a report.

However, the other side of the news strategy is not entirely bright. At 9 o'clock every morning, a meeting is held at The Voice of America's highest administrative level to discuss and decide the lead story that will occupy

first place in the news broadcast in all languages, regardless of the story's relative importance in a particular geographical region. For example, the Arabic news broadcasts from The Voice of America carried reports of the Solidarity workers' movement in Poland when it was at the height of its activity. These reports came at the beginning of the broadcasts, while important Arab news retreated to second or third place. The director of the Arabic-language section clearly does not have the power to determine the priority of news. Instead, he must adhere to the order that comes to him from the news room.

Many believe that The Voice of America's troubles are caused by the dichotomy between professional journalists and broadcasters, on the one hand, and the diplomatic corps employees who occupy the administrative positions at the station, on the other hand. The professional journalist--most of the time--wants to present a disinterested news service, while the diplomatic corps employee wants to accentuate the line set for him by the State Department. The journalist wants to introduce new ideas; the diplomat wants to maintain the status quo. Perhaps now is the time for us to ask why there are diplomats present at The Voice of America.

The reason is that an American diplomat who serves in a foreign capital returns to Washington after a certain number of years of service and spends 4 years there, after which he is sent to another foreign capital. The American government distributes diplomats returning to Washington among the administrative posts available in government agencies, including The Voice of America. Thus, the diplomat feels that he is spending a vacation at home before returning overseas again. He therefore has no desire to introduce changes that may cause him a headache.

The troubles with The Voice of America become even clearer when we learn that the general director of broadcasting was replaced six times during 1982-83. During this brief period of time, six directors resigned from the post, which means that each of them stayed on the job an average of 8 months. Some of them were major American journalists, such as John Hughes, former editor-in-chief of THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, Kenneth Y. Tomlinson, editor-in-chief of READER'S DIGEST, and Mary (Peterman), current director of the Institute of Middle East and Western Affairs in Hawaii.

At the level of the Arabic section, the trouble is no less oppressive. During approximately the same period of time, seven of the best journalists and broadcasters in the Arab world resigned, either in protest over the policy and administration of the station or because of long-term grievances.

Quality First

In spite of all this, The Voice of America is unique in the kind of listener it aims to reach. It aims at one particular class and does not worry about reaching the ordinary citizen or the man in the street. Officials at The Voice of America do not hide this fact. During my first week after joining the station, a high official got up to explain to us the station's goals and

kind of listener at which it aimed. He said, "We seek to reach the elite that makes political decisions in a given country and the class that influences the making of these decisions. Included in this class are members of the government, officials, professors, university students, businessmen, lawyers, etc., rather than the ordinary citizen." Perhaps this explains the lack of interest in gathering statistics and surveys to learn the size of the station's audience, since The Voice of America is not concerned about the size of its audience, but about its quality. During the 3 years I worked as an announcer at The Voice of America, the station undertook no studies of this kind. I was told that the most recent statistics had been compiled in the mid-seventies.

It would be fair to say that The Voice of America remains unique in another respect. It has been perhaps the only international station that allows foreign language announcers to participate in writing reports and essays in English to be distributed and broadcast in all languages. This does not mean that there is no discrimination between, for example, an American employee and an Arab one. There is a strangely elastic law requiring that leadership positions at the station be held only by American citizens. The elasticity of the law is revealed in some exceptions that can be explained only as having been subject to the caprice of the acting director. Thus, the borders between the law and corruption become confused.

Many American media people believe that The Voice of America will continue to experience major difficulty, in spite of all efforts at reform, until it becomes independent of the organizational and political structure of the American government. Many voices are calling for turning over The Voice of America to an independent body. These people say that it will then best express the interests of the American people. These voices and calls, however, are still going unheard.

[Box, p 52]

The Voice of America

--Number of employees of The Voice of America, Arabic section: about 40.

--Highest yearly salary, \$65,000; lowest salary, \$22,000, except for the secretary.

--Transmission times: morning, evening, ,and afternoon.

--Transmission is via satellite from North Carolina to Rhodes, where there is a ground amplification station. During his recent visit to the Middle East, Vice-President George Bush signed an agreement with Israel to build another amplifying station for The Voice of America.

--Arabic broadcasting departments:

Middle East Department, headed by Fawzi al-Bakri;

North Africa, headed by Fawzi Furayj;

Special Programs, headed by Ism'il (Dahyat);
Reports and Special Events, headed by Mahmud al-Zawawi;
Director of Arabic Broadcasting, headed by Salman Hilmi.

--The Arabic broadcasting section has Arab correspondents in Cairo, Amman, the Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, and the United Nations.

--Musical and artistic programs are produced and recorded in Cairo.

--The programs "Short Story," "Musical Theatre," and "Lessons in English" have been repeatedly rebroadcast for 20 years.

--Seasonal recognition prizes are awarded to the best radio programs in all languages. Arabic programs have won a number of these prizes.

Radio Moscow

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 8-14 Oct 86 pp 53-54

[Article by Kamran Qaradaghi: "Radio Moscow--Resorting to Prizes to Attract Listeners"]

[Text] From the point of view of the multiplicity of its peoples, the Soviet Union constitutes a miniature copy of the United Nations. Within this enormous country, more than 100 ethnic groups live together. The largest of them are the Russians, who make up 52 percent of the population. These groups speak more than 80 different languages, and Soviet stations are forced to broadcast in all these languages.

All three monotheistic religions, as well as Buddhism, are widespread in the Soviet Union. The population numbers 280 million, distributed on the basis of nationality among 15 federated republics, 20 autonomous republics, 8 autonomous regions, and 10 autonomous areas.

Until the early fifties, there were still a small number of Soviet citizens in the republics of Central Asia who were of Arab nationality, registered themselves as Arabs with official and government agencies and in their passports, and spoke Arabic, which they considered their mother tongue. However, it is unlikely that at the present time there is anyone who considers Arabic his original language, though this does not mean that the language has died out in these republics, given the fact that Arabic is the language of the Qur'an and that Islam remains strongly prevalent in these areas (Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijanistan, Turkmen S.S.R., and Kirghiz S.S.R.).

Not only this, Arabic studies have deep-rooted traditions in the Soviet Union, reaching back to long before the coming of Soviet communist power. Russian oriental studies arose on the basis of what one eminent Arab scholar has called "an indigenous growth," since they came into existence at the beginning of the 19th century--at a time, that is, when all areas of Central

Asia had been annexed to Russia and had become part of the extensive Czarist empire. This made orientalism in Russia a "patriotic" phenomenon--if one may use the expression--because its roots were in touch with the history, language, and heritage of an indigenous portion of the empire's subjects. Furthermore, Russia to the south bordered on--and, of course, still borders on--eastern Islamic countries (Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey). This constituted another powerful stimulus to strengthen the role and position of oriental studies as an important and major branch of Russian humanistic studies.

This introduction is intended to stress an important fact connected with the question of Arabic broadcasting from Radio Moscow: that Soviet media dealings with the Arab world through Arabic-language broadcasting rest on a particular background of historical, religious, and linguistic ties between the Soviet Union and the Arabs. This explains why an Arabic section was established at Radio Moscow from the forties, at a time when Soviet-Arab relations did not go beyond the existence of simple ties with a few Arab countries. As is well-known, economic, political, trade, and military relations between the Soviets and Arabs began only in the late fifties and then began to develop in the sixties. Naturally, the Arabic section developed and expanded continually with the development and expansion of Soviet Arab relations, both as regards the amount of broadcasting and as regards its quality.

The Lion's Share to Politics

There is no doubt that the Arabic section of Radio Moscow is an effective informational and ideological means of promoting Soviet policies, especially in the area of relations with the Arabs. It is perhaps for this reason that we see a serious character predominating in most of Radio Moscow's Arabic programs, with the political-informational aspect monopolizing the lion's share of them. The main tendencies in Arabic broadcasting can be summed up in two points: the promotion of communist and socialist ideas; and the promotion of Soviet policies, with reference to the positions of the Communist Party and the Soviet state on Arab issues.

Concerning the first point, programs concentrate on the positive aspects of Soviet domestic life, with special stress on economic and social developments in the republics of Central Asia. This is done through comparisons between the level of development in these regions before the revolution and what has been attained after it, as well as by comparisons between these republics and foreign countries similar to them in economic and social conditions. The stress on these republics clearly arises from the perception that there are spiritual ties between their peoples and the Arab people due to a shared religion and history and many shared customs and traditions. In spite of the official atheism of the Soviet state, in its Arabic broadcasting it stresses freedom of religious worship by presenting programs about the region's Islamic heritage in architecture, culture, and other arts, and by interviews with religious administrative agency officials in Central Asia and with the imams of mosques there or in Moscow and Leningrad. (There is a mosque in Moscow and one in Leningrad, since these two Russian cities contain a large number of

Soviet Muslims, most of them Tatars.) Those who run the Arabic section understand that such programs are more effective in gaining a response from an Arab Muslim audience.

In addition to this, a large part of Arabic programming is devoted to showing the Soviet Union's achievements in the fields of science (especially space science), education, culture, and athletics. These programs are aimed primarily at the youth audience, which is characterized by its interest in these subjects. In order to attract listeners, the station continually runs contests on subjects related to various aspects of life in the Soviet Union. First prize winners are usually given free visits of at least 2 weeks to the Soviet Union.

Constant Principles

Regarding the second point, the promotion of Soviet policy in the area of relations with the Arabs: there are constant basic principles to which Arabic broadcasting adheres, and these reflect the principles of Soviet media as a whole in their treatment of information. It may be ironic to say that Soviet Arabic broadcasting seems to believe more in Arab solidarity and to be more committed to it than the official Arab radio stations themselves! Radio Moscow, one notices, avoids becoming involved as a party in intra-Arab disputes, except in generalities and with a few exceptions which we shall presently indicate. Indeed, the programs and political commentaries of the station take it upon themselves to urge the Arab stations of the need to unify their policies regarding the common problems of the Arabs, chief among them being the Palestinian issue and the struggle to liberate occupied Arab lands. Radio Moscow supports any slogan around which the Arab states unite. Radio Moscow's Arabic section primarily spotlights the policies of the United States, Israel, and international Zionism toward major Arab issues. In this regard, one should point out that the hostility between Israel and Zionism, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union, on the other hand, has objective causes and circumstances separate from the Arab problem. As is well-known, Israel and the Zionist movement harbor great hostility toward the Soviet Union and toward communism on various levels. On the intellectual level, for example, the Soviet Union considers Zionism a form of racism and fascism. On the practical level, the Soviet Union in most cases takes a very strict position on the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel. These two factors are in themselves sufficient to cause Israel and the world Zionist movement to launch violent media attacks against the Soviet Union on an international scale. These factors must be taken into consideration if one is to understand the nature of the current Soviet position hostile to Israel and the international Zionist movement, and this is what is clearly reflected in the attitude of Arabic Radio Moscow. Perhaps one may say about this subject that the struggle against Israel and Zionism is considered to be also a Soviet issue, not merely an Arab one.

In regard to internal Arab conflicts, rarely does Radio Moscow take an openly hostile or critical position toward official Arab regimes. Rather, its position is marked by reserve, even when the matter involves the persecution and prosecution of those who hold the communist ideology in one Arab country or another.

The reason for this apparently lies in the Soviet Union's attempt to avoid being accused of interfering in the internal affairs of the Arab states. This was the announced position to which Arabic Radio Moscow adhered even during the bloody armed conflict that broke out at the beginning of this year in Aden, where the government is led by a party that follows a Marxist ideology.

Media Confrontations

This is a general and constant direction, but it does not preclude the existence of exceptions, sometimes going so far as to involve entering a media confrontation with some official Arab regimes. One of the best known of these confrontations took place after the 14 July 1958 revolution in Iraq, when relations between the United Arab Republic of that time and Iraq deteriorated, and when the united Egyptian-Syrian government began a campaign of persecuting communists. Arabic Radio Moscow launched a violent attack on the policies of the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and accused his government of conspiring against the 14 July revolution in an attempt to overthrow the regime in Iraq.

In 1961, Arabic Radio Moscow entered another media confrontation, this time against the Iraqi regime, because of the prosecution of communists in Iraq. A third confrontation came in the wake of the overthrow of 'Abd-al-Karim Qasim's government in February 1963. Arabic Radio Moscow savagely attacked the new regime, which was undertaking a campaign to suppress the communists.

Subsequently, Arabic Radio Moscow has taken openly hostile positions against Arab regimes on occasion. During the bloody events of September 1970, Arabic Radio Moscow attacked the Jordanian government and accused it of trying to destroy the armed Palestinian resistance movement. Arabic Radio Moscow's most recent attack on an Arab regime was against the government of the late President Anwar al-Sadat after he signed the Camp David Agreements, though it should be noted that Radio Moscow had not commented at all on the matter of the expulsion of the Russian experts from Egypt some years earlier.

Radio Monte Carlo

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 8-14 Oct 86 pp 54-55

[Article by Mustafa al-Yahyawi: "Serving French Interests, But in an Elegant Style"]

[Text] When the visitor arrives at the door of 78 Rue Raymond Poincare in Paris (a former French president was assassinated on the spot), he would never be aware that the building harbors on its first floor, with over 1,000 square meters of floor space, the offices and studios of one of the two largest European Arabic-language radio stations, Radio Monte Carlo, well-known in the Middle East. The station broadcasts 15 and 1/2 hours a day and has about 15 million listeners, which makes it the first-place foreign Arabic-language station in the Arab world, ahead of the BBC, Radio Israel, and The Voice of America, not to mention the other Eastern and Western European Arabic-language stations, which have a very limited range.

There are no antennas atop the five-story building, with its old-fashioned architecture and an excellent location in the middle of the 16th Arrondissement of Paris, a few hundred meters from the famous Boulevard Foch. No endless traffic obstructs the visitor's path, as is the case with the buildings of the other French commercial stations. Attached to the building there is only a small plaque bearing the word SOMERA, an acronym for the company that owns and manages the station. The reason for this quiet and isolation is that Radio Monte Carlo does not broadcast to a nearby public surrounding it and constantly visiting it. Instead, it produces its programs and broadcasts them over the medium-wave band to millions of listeners in Beirut and even on the heights of the city of Musqat in Oman. These programs are sent via undersea cables to the city of Cyprus, where the transmitters that cover the eastern half of the Arab world are located. Coverage of the western half is expected as soon as the current studies are finished. These deal with the opening of a new medium-wave frequency to be aimed at Arab North Africa and West Africa.

13th Birthday

Radio Monte Carlo celebrated its 13th birthday this spring. In fact, the date of its founding goes back to the beginning of the seventies, but it did not officially begin full operation as a station until 1 May 1973. The late French President Charles de Gaulle was behind the initiative to establish it, with the goal of facilitating France's political, cultural, and economic opening toward the Arab East and of strengthening France's relations with the states of that region in the wake of the stands taken by de Gaulle after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, stands that made France the first European state friendly to the Arabs and showing understanding toward their problems and stands. As a leading country in the world, it was the duty of France to accompany its political positions and initiatives with the intellectual, cultural, and economic influence that would bring "the voice of France" to the position desired by the country's leaders. As everyone knows, France was completely absent across the Middle Eastern scene until the end of the sixties, with no influence or impact on the course of events there. Does this mean that the intention behind the establishment of a French Arabic-language station was for it to be France's official voice in the region?

This question is answered with a sharp denial by Mr Antoine Nawfal, director of news and programs at the station from its inception until now. He adds, "We here at Radio Monte Carlo are committed to a particular approach, though without our thereby becoming the official voice of France." This is particularly true because France has another station belonging to it, one that broadcasts in dozens of languages and that is called Radio France International. Also, it is difficult for Radio Monte Carlo to take on an official coloring and carry the voice of France as long as it is a commercial station administered indirectly by the state through companies the majority of whose shares are state-owned.

Here we must pause to clarify an important point concerning the means that enabled the French state to become the principal shareholder in the capital

of five commercial companies that own five broadcasting stations: the parent French-language Monte Carlo, which covers the southeast of France and is 83.33 percent government-owned; Sud Radio, a 100 percent government-owned station that covers the southwest of France; Africa-1, which transmits from the capital of Gabon and covers all of West Africa; Radio Monte Carlo, of course; and a fifth station, Radio Mediterranee-1, broadcasting in Arabic and French from Casablanca in Morocco and which went into operation 3 years ago. The French government owns a majority share in these stations through a government corporation called (SOFIERAD). The French Council of Ministers names the chairman of the corporation, and he is allowed freedom to work with the five station-owning companies through their boards of directors.

Commercial in Character

All these stations are commercial in character. Their financial resources, that is, come basically from advertisements, with the state committed to covering any deficit, if it occurs, just as it does in the case of any government corporation. Though this situation may at first glance seem contradictory, it is fully consistent with the goal of French government policy, which is to exploit a number of international stations in the service of France, without the government's managing them directly and without its assuming the burdens of their monetary costs. Meanwhile, appointment of the chairmen of the boards of directors and, especially, covering the stations' budget deficits (most of the stations suffer from deficits and even under the best of circumstances just break even) provide the government with an opportunity to control and direct the stations.

This state of affairs is now going to witness great changes in light of the new French media policy aimed at freeing both radio and television from governmental hegemony. The first television station has been offered for sale, as have the French government shares in most existing stations, such as Europa-1, Radio Luxembourg, and the French-language Radio Monte Carlo, i.e., the national radio stations directed at French listeners. However, the government will keep its shares in the three international stations, Arabic-language Monte Carlo, Africa-1, and Midi-1, and will work to develop them and direct them toward serving French cultural and economic interests in the regions they cover, namely, the Arab world and West Africa. French companies that export will be asked to intensify their commercial advertising campaigns on these three stations, as was confirmed by Mr Antoine Schwarz, the new head of (SOFIERAD), which is, in the final analysis, the real operator of the stations.

Vocal music selections in French and Arabic (50 percent in each language) occupy a significant place at Radio Monte Carlo, representing 80 percent of daily programming and outweighing all other content--cultural, artistic, economic, and political. Although there are three main news broadcasts every day and a news summary every hour, Radio Monte Carlo remains as far removed as possible in form and content from the traditional political station, particularly since it is almost devoid of political commentary and analysis, two things that normally help give a particular identity to every radio station and perhaps make it more powerful in influencing the listener politically.

Monte Carlo is always eager to go along with French positions by adding additional explanations and detail concerning them. Does not its role consist in strengthening Franco-Arab relations and in "assuring the transmission of the French presence throughout the world?"--as Mr Schwarz, the head of (SOFIERAD) expresses it.

A Private Journalist's Situation

Does this situation guarantee the 30 journalists and editors who work at the station complete freedom, unspoiled by direction or censorship?

Answering these questions, Mr Nawfal says that the journalists who work with him not only enjoy complete freedom within the framework of the station's commitment to a particular news approach dictated by the circumstances of its connection to the French state, but also enjoy the situation of a private journalist. Each of them, that is, is reporter, editor, and producer of a newscast when his turn comes. This creates equality among them and prevents the emergence of the phenomenon of stardom. However, the broadcast material continues to reflect the wishes of the French government.

The journalist's job at Radio Monte Carlo is therefore relatively easy because everything at the station is prescribed, clear, and does not require debate and discussion at the daily editorial meeting. Mr Antoine Nawfal, the director of news and programs, appears to be the sole decision-maker in this area. He is assisted by two chief editors: Antoine Abu-Samrah and Rawwad Tarbiyah, both Lebanese. The station as a whole operates with a limited staff of journalists and employees. All together, their number does not exceed 80. Contrast this with the station's wide reverberation in the Middle East, where its audience in times of crisis rises to 22 million. According to Antoine Nawfal, this is a number that perhaps no Arab broadcasting station can reach.

Financial Resources

Radio Monte Carlo's estimated annual budget is about Fr50 million. Commercial advertisements cover only 80 percent of the budget; the French state covers the remaining deficit, as it does with the other analogous stations. The income from advertising can be considered limited in comparison to the economic and commercial importance of the area--the Middle East and Arabian Gulf--where the station broadcasts, and where there are free and active commercial markets in which the products of the largest world companies compete, companies that resort to commercial advertising as the most advantageous way to product recognition and promotion. Perhaps the reason for this can be traced to the fact that French companies, which would be more likely than others to advertise on Radio Monte Carlo, do not accord to advertising the same importance than American and Japanese companies, for example, do. This is what explains Mr Antoine Schwarz's calling on French companies that do business in the Arab countries to increase their advertisements for their products on the French stations directed at these countries.

Although Radio Monte Carlo appears modest in its form and content and perhaps restricted at times in its movement, it nevertheless remains an "Arabic" station with great reverberation in the Arab world due to its strategy of presenting a varied and appealing menu based on lightness, variety, and innovation--things very much in demand with listeners accustomed by the radio stations of the Arab states to a uniform, unchanging style that bores listeners. This on the one hand. On the other hand, listeners, as is well-known, are eager to hear foreign radio stations, since these offer a complete news menu marked by speed, accuracy, and comprehensiveness in presenting the news, without resorting to puffery and exaggeration. Thus, Radio Monte Carlo, together with the BBC's "London Here," occupies a position of influence relative to Arab public opinion.

Radio Switzerland

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 15-21 Oct 86 pp 60-62

[Article: "Swiss World Radio: Its Neutrality Does Not Mean Indifference"]

[Text] In the first installment of its report on foreign broadcasts directed toward the Arabs, AL-MAJALLAH presented the stations of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, together with Radio Monte Carlo. In this installment, AL-MAJALLAH continues its report with a discussion of the radio station of a neutral country, Switzerland, one of a communist country, People's China, and one of an enemy, Radio Israel.

In the Swiss Confederation, neutrality does not mean indifference, either on the part of the state, the citizen, or the media. In spite of its neutrality, the Swiss state has a role that it plays on the stage of international events, although this role is predominantly economic and humanitarian in nature. On this basis, one can say that Swiss World Radio, like other radio stations directed at a foreign audience, represents Swiss interests. Nevertheless, the country's neutrality and lack of attachment to any of the principal political powers in the world have given its overseas broadcasts a kind of credibility that crystallized during World War II.

The organizational charter of Swiss World Radio specifies that the station's principal function is to strengthen the ties between the mother country (i.e., Switzerland) and the Swiss who live abroad, promote the Swiss presence throughout the world, and build bridges between Switzerland and the external world. Broadcasting on short wave began in 1935, whence the station became known as "the short-wave station," until its name was officially changed to Swiss World Radio in 1978. Swiss World Radio now broadcasts 24 hours a day in the Swiss national languages: German, French, and Italian. There are also programs in English, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, and the international language of Esperanto. In its various departments, Swiss World Radio includes 130 workers in the various fields of broadcasting, in addition to a large number of journalists, correspondents, writers, and assistants who work on a nonpermanent basis.

In terms of number of hours of weekly broadcasting, Swiss World Radio does not rank among the 30 main overseas radio stations. A spokesman for Swiss World Radio explained this in a statement to AL-MAJALLAH as due to the small population and area of Switzerland, which make the resources of Swiss World Radio limited in comparison to the funding of the principal overseas radio stations in the world. He added, however, that Swiss World Radio, in spite of the small number of languages in which it broadcasts, has come to have a large audience in all of its broadcasting languages, due to the accuracy of its news and the objectivity of its commentaries and reports. Switzerland, as he said, has no colonial past, and this eliminates the suspicion of bias. Swiss World Radio shows the world Switzerland as it is and as it responds to world events. He said that this is the situation that distinguishes the country and its broadcasting.

One of the reasons making it necessary for Swiss World Radio to pursue strict objectivity is the existence of what this official calls "the fifth Switzerland." In addition, that is, to the four nationalities within the country, many Swiss live abroad. According to the articles of its charter, Swiss World Radio has the duty of offering them radio service in the form of accurate and objective news worthy of the deep-rooted traditions of the country. Inevitably, the objectivity of the radio service directed at "the fifth Switzerland" has been reflected in the foreign language broadcasts. Another reason is that the station is not entirely government funded; its funding comes in equal share from the Swiss Radio and Television Organization and from the federal government. Therefore, in the opinion of officials at the station, the proverb, "He who pays, rules," does not apply to Swiss World Radio.

On 5 May of the past year, the Arabic section began a pioneering and unique service to provide sources of news to businessmen and tourists visiting Switzerland who cannot listen to Swiss World Radio's Arabic section on short wave. An Arabic speaker, whether at a hotel, at home, or in an office, can, for a fixed subscription rate, listen to two full news programs over the telephone: one in the morning (7:45-8:00), the other in the evening (7:30- 7:45), except on Saturday and Sunday, when one can listen only to an extended broadcast between 7:30 and 8:00 p.m.

Interview with the Head of the Arabic Section

The well-known Arabic broadcaster, 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Rifa'i, one of those who participated in the formation and development of the Arabic section of Swiss World Radio, currently holds the post of head of the Arabic section. AL-MAJALLAH asked him a number of questions about the role of radio in a neutral country, the extent of its editorial freedom, and its constitutional position. We began with the following question:

[Question] What distinguishes Radio Bern insofar as it is the radio station of a neutral country?

[Answer] Radio Bern, or Swiss World Radio, is distinguished from other radio stations in that its main task, as specified in its organizational charter from the Swiss Confederation, is to strengthen the ties between the mother country, Switzerland, and the Swiss living abroad, as well as to promote the Swiss presence in the world. It can thus be considered "the voice of Switzerland." In addition, Switzerland's not having had a colonial past involving any country eliminates any suspicion of bias. Swiss World Radio shows the world Switzerland as it is and as it develops in the face of international events. This is the special situation that distinguishes the country and its radio. Since we broadcast from a neutral country, a word is necessary about Swiss neutrality and the media.

The reality is that radio cannot be neutral. Nevertheless, the state's neutrality makes it easier for us to present balanced and complete information. Neutrality does not mean indifference, either on the part of the state or on the part of the citizen, who is asked to participate conscientiously and responsibly in political and social life. In return, the citizen has a right to ample and correct information. Hence comes the new constitutional article, which defines the position of the press, radio, and television, and in order to guarantee freedom of expression through the media of information. This article of the constitution guarantees freedom to the producers of programs, while maintaining a balance between the rights of the listener or viewer and the rights of the radio or television producer to freedom of expression. Along with guaranteeing freedom of opinion, this balance demands the pursuit of objectivity.

[Question] To what extent can the Arabic section be considered a tool of Swiss economic propaganda?

[Answer] Among the principal goals of Swiss World Radio--and the Arabic section is, of course, a part of it--is to be an open door to the world. This does not mean merely being a showcase to display aspects of economic, industrial, commercial, and touristic activity. It means showing the world Swiss culture and the civilization whose roots reach deep into history. Thus, it is correct to say that Switzerland's share is great and its investment high. The Arabic section draws on this investment so that Swiss Arabic radio can truly become a bridge between Switzerland and the Arab world and actively share in tying the bonds of friendship with this world.

Any radio station broadcasting to a foreign audience must aim at showing the country's economic, industrial, and touristic activity. However, the Arabic section can in no way be considered merely a tool for Swiss economic propaganda.

[Question] Asked about the funding of the station, 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Rifa'i, director of the Arabic section at Swiss Radio, replied:

[Answer] "He who pays, rules," obviously applies to all radio stations in the world. There are stations completely financed by the state and which therefore speak in its name. There are commercial stations that represent

particular interests, speak on their behalf, and obtain funding from them, as is the case in the United States and some European countries. Another system, used in many countries of Western Europe and in Britain, requires making the radio station a public corporation, neither governmental nor private, commercial, and profit-making. This is the system followed in Swiss radio. It obtains its funding from the proceeds of radio licence fees which the state authorities collect and part of which they turn over to the radio station.

In the case of Swiss World Radio, we are a part of the Swiss General Radio and Television Organization. We are subject to its administration, which enjoys an independence that is in turn reflected in the stations that broadcast to a foreign audience. The latter are financed 50 percent by the Swiss Radio Organization, and the remainder by a grant approved by the country's parliament. Nevertheless, the independence of Swiss World Radio is untarnished.

The truth is that the extent of the station's independence is great. One may even say without exaggeration that Radio Switzerland is completely free, editorially, because it is responsible only to the public whose various sectors it represents. It frequently directs criticism at the government, or, if need be, at the opposition. If any individual has a complaint about the content of a radio or television program presented by the company, he can appeal to an independent body to consider his complaint. This body may rule for the station or against it, and it may give the individual the right to reply on the same airwaves, if he was directly affected. We can therefore say that Swiss radio has over the years become a model of credibility due to its enjoyment of this editorial freedom.

This independence applies to the editorship in the Arabic section. Whereas in all other radio stations aimed at a foreign audience it is normal for the head to be a citizen of the broadcasting country, at Swiss World Radio the head of the Arabic section is not Swiss, but an Arab. This is also true of the remaining foreign language sections: English, Spanish, and Portuguese. The idea is that someone from the region knows it best and knows the people's culture and customs, their temperament, what they like, and what they do not like. As the saying goes, "Give the baking to the baker."

The News "Kitchen"

As for the question of whether the news is prepared centrally or in the Arabic section: it is prepared in the general news department, which supplies all sections of the station with whatever desired news productions the sections themselves specify.

The news of the Arabic section is prepared from well-known news sources: news agencies, correspondents, monitoring radio stations, etc. Afterwards, we adapt it within the Arabic section, as all the other sections do. Of course, each of the sections has its specialties and commitments. The Arabic section gives priority in its news broadcasts to people from the Arab world,

then to international news, and then to Swiss news of interest to the Arab listener, bearing in mind that most letters from Arab listeners ask for more information about Switzerland--its history, culture, policy, neutrality, economy, industry, etc.

(Concluding his discussion of this subject, the head of the Arabic section at Swiss World Radio said:) The Arabic section does not receive instructions from the management to carry one news program rather than another. All the topics of the news program are determined during the morning daily editorial meeting attended by a representative from each section. Questions of the hour are at that time discussed with complete freedom, and each section suggests what it would like to present in its program. It is therefore correct to say that daily events alone determine the news.

Strategy of the Programs

[Question] AL-MAJALLAH asked about the nature of the programs the Arabic section presents and whether they reflect a general strategy.

[Answer] A definite strategy? No, but our general goal is to reach the largest possible part of the audience in the Arab world, this being one of the general principles of Swiss World Radio. It is a principle we know here by the name of "universality" i.e., worldwide inclusiveness. The nature of our programs aims at giving information about Switzerland and the world and presenting the Swiss view of international and Swiss events. Like the other sections, whether broadcasting in the Swiss languages or in foreign languages, we present news broadcasts, political commentaries, and a newsreel of the day's events, including reports, reportage, and radio interviews. Some of these are produced here; some are sent to us by our reporters within Switzerland or in important international or Arab world centers, such as Beirut and Cairo. We also present other radio programs, such as "Listeners' Letters," "From the Song Library," "Women's Magazine," "Swiss Horizons," "Daily Press Review," "This Week in Switzerland," and "The Weekly Economic Review," covering activities and news of Swiss companies and banks.

We also present cultural programs, a review of artistic activities in Switzerland, visits to exhibitions, museums, and art and cinema festivals. Additionally, of course, there is the material provided to us by our correspondent in Geneva, where the European headquarters of the United Nations are located, where many conferences are held, and where hundreds of Arab delegations arrive every year. Our correspondent in Zurich constantly provides us with economic reports and news of the stock market, finance, and business. We believe the number of our listeners is increasing every year. Our correspondent in Basel is concerned with providing us with news about art, culture, and literature from that city, which is known for its large number of museums, art exhibitions, and theatres. Currently, we present our Arabic programs for a full hour every day throughout the week. I should like to point out that we are the only section at the station that has a full hour set aside for it. All the other sections present recurring broadcasts, each 1/2 hour in length.

[Question] How many listeners do you estimate you have in the Arab world? What areas listen most, and why?

[Answer] It is one of the most difficult things to determine the size of a station's audience accurately. However, we can give examples that may help give an idea of the progress that has been achieved since 1964, the year the Arabic section was founded. At that time, audience reaction was slight, with no more than 700 letters a year coming to us from listeners. Now, the number has reached 7,000. This tremendous increase in the number of letters now reaching us from our listeners reflects the great progress that has occurred at the station, a progress that in turn reflects the important development in relations between Switzerland and the Arab countries.

As for the Arab areas that listen the most, these were limited in the beginning years of Arabic broadcasting to the North African countries close to Switzerland. The reason may have to do with clarity of reception, allowing the listener to hear the station easily. Now, however, we have almost reached a balance between listeners in the eastern Arab countries and in the western ones. Many letters now reach us from the Arab East and the Gulf, in addition to those from the countries of North Africa and from the European and American countries where Arab listeners are located. The reason for the increase in listeners in any region is undoubtedly linked to a great extent to signal quality. We are trying by various means to improve signal strength--by constructing a large center for short-wave transmission, in addition to using amplification stations--so that our programs will reach the listener wherever he may be.

[Question] What are the nationalities of the broadcasters who work in the Arabic section?

[Answer] We have a mixture of Arab nationalities in the Arabic section, operating on the well-known broadcasting principle calling for "full representation" of the countries of the Arab world in the section. I personally insist on it. We therefore have broadcasters from Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon.

[Question] What about the difficulties that obstruct work in the Arabic section?

[Answer] The greatest difficulty lies in obtaining professional Arabic journalists of the kind that used to be available once. Can I now easily find an Arabic journalist experienced in radio work, fluent in Arabic, English, French, and German, and willing to emigrate and live abroad? I am afraid that the waves of emigration to the north are now over.

9 January 1987

Radio Beijing

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 15-21 Oct 86 p 62

[Article: "Radio Beijing--Propaganda for China in 1 Hour of Broadcasting a Day]

[Text] The People's Republic of China began its foreign broadcasts from Beijing in 1950, on the anniversary of the victory of the communist revolution under the leadership of Mao Zedong in 1949. The beginning was relatively modest, with broadcasts in seven languages, Arabic not being among them. Now, however, Chinese foreign broadcasting, which has come to occupy third place in broadcast hours after the Soviet Union and the United States, transmits in 39 different languages, in addition to a number of local Chinese languages. AL-MAJALLAH commissioned the well-known Chinese journalist (Shen Minghei), editor at the newspaper PEOPLE'S DAILY, which is published in Chinese in Beijing, to write the following article about Chinese Arabic-language radio.

Radio Beijing is the call name of the foreign broadcasts of the People's Republic of China, which began their transmission in 1950. Beijing is the name of the Chinese capital, known in Arabic as Peking. When the Beijing foreign radio station began broadcasting, it was limited to only seven languages, with a total of no more than 6 hours a day of broadcasting in them. Now, however, we broadcast 140 hours in 39 languages every day, in addition to other stations that broadcast in five local Chinese languages: Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka, Amoy, and Chaozhou. As everyone knows, the People's Republic of China is an enormous country populated by many ethnic groups that have their own local dialects, though Chinese is the language of the majority.

The daily broadcasts to foreign countries include news, commentaries, and regular and special-occasion programs. The foreign broadcasting stations in Beijing have established friendly relations with radio organizations and stations in more than 20 countries, supplying them with radio programs and exchanging broadcasts with them.

The Arabic section at Radio Beijing began transmission on 3 November 1957. Sixteen broadcasters currently work in the section, all Chinese, and perform the tasks of broadcasting, editing, and translating. As is well-known, there are more than 14 million Chinese Muslims in the People's Republic of China and many institutes that specialize in teaching the Arabic language as a basic necessity for teaching the Holy Qur'an and religious studies. The policy of the Arabic section aims at explaining Chinese positions on local and international issues to the Arab listener and at giving the Arab world a variety of clear information about China and about ongoing developments there in a variety of fields, in order to help it understand China and the Chinese and to strength the bonds of friendship with the peoples of the Arab world.

The regular programs presented by the Arabic section are: "Building China," "Letter from the Chinese Countryside," "Affairs of the Hour," "What Chinese Newspapers Are Saying," "Culture in China," and "Sports Lovers." Special programs include: "Listeners' Mailbox," "The Third World Moves Ahead," "Chinese Minorities," "Chinese Cooking," "Chinese Sayings and Stories," "Muslims in China," "News About China," and "Chinese Music."

The Arabic section at Radio Beijing receives between 700 and 800 letters a week from the Arab world, each of which, officials in the section believe, represents 500 listeners. In these letters, listeners comment on the programs and offer suggestions about the kinds of programs and their contents. These letters help the Arabic section continue to improve its programs and benefit from the opinions of listeners.

Before 1977, i.e., before the overthrow of the Gang of Four, who had dominated Mao Zedong and imposed the Cultural Revolution that dragged the country back many years, the Arabic section of Beijing's foreign broadcasting did not receive much listener interest, because at that time it broadcast only political programs. Now, however, the section has many programs that are well received by listeners.

The Arabic section at Beijing foreign radio broadcasts 1 hour a day, between 9:30 and 10:30 pm, Greenwich time.

Israeli Radio

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 15-21 Oct 86 p 63

[Article: "Israeli Radio: 38 Years of Psychological Warfare Against the Arabs"]

[Text] Since the Zionist gangs took over the Radio Palestine building in Jerusalem in 1948, what is known as the Arabic broadcast of the Voice of Israel has been one of the most significant psychological weapons used by Zionism against the Arabs. In that year, the Zionists exploited Radio Palestine, which the British had evacuated after reaching an understanding in advance with the Zionist gangs on its occupation, to sow fear in the hearts of Palestinians by launching against them a concentrated psychological war that caused many of them to flee their homes and lands, often without a fight. To this day, the Arabic Voice of Israel still follows the same carefully studied methods to shake the Arab's self-confidence. What is really saddening is that a great many people are still simple enough to fall into the trap, as will shortly become evident.

In an attempt to wrap itself in the cloak of democracy to attract sympathy and support from the West, Israel in 1965 passed what is known as the Broadcasting Authority Act, and the Israeli Broadcasting Authority became an independent body. In 1968, this law was amended to include television transmission, which began experimentally in that year. However, this independence from the government remains ink on paper because of the nature of the surrounding Israeli society and the state of actual and psychological war that

Israel has forced upon the neighboring Arab states since its establishment. Israeli radio's lack of independence is most evident in the broadcasts directed at foreign audiences, especially the Arabic-language Voice of Israel. In an interview that one of the Hebrew stations in Israel did with Edmund (Sihayk), the director of Arabic broadcasting at the Voice of Israel, Mr (Sihayk) claimed at first that the Arabic station is a free station that carries the news in a positive manner and that does not comment on the reports that are broadcast in the two newsreel broadcasts daily. He quickly confessed, nevertheless, that a special department called the General Political Relations Department prepares the programs and political discussions so that they reflect the viewpoints of the Israeli government. This department includes experts in psychology and Arab affairs whose job is to prepare the political programs and commentaries in a way that appears positive and fair, in order to influence Arab listeners--a number of Arab leaders themselves are said to be among them--undermine their self-confidence, and incite them against their values, beliefs, and even their governments. However, some of the Arabs who listen to Radio Israel in Arabic on a virtually regular basis argue, against AL-MAJALLAH, that one must know one's enemy. Others argue that if adequate local sources of accurate and reliable news were available to them, there would be no need to listen to the Voice of Israel. They cast the blame on the sterility of the Arab radio stations that reflect only the viewpoints of the regimes which control them and exercise strict censorship over them even in matters relating to local affairs.

Twofold Goal

The Arabic broadcast at the Voice of Israel differs from other foreign broadcasts directed toward a foreign audience in that it has a twofold goal: reaching the largest possible number of Arabs within Israel itself, and reaching every home in the Arab homeland. The same Edmond (Sihayk) said, "We are in a state of war with the Arabs. The only tool that enables us to reach into every Arab household is the Arabic broadcast of the Voice of Israel." This broadcast differs from the local Hebrew-language broadcast in that it handles news material relating to Israel in a terse and cautious manner that gives a distorted picture of the reality. In the same interview, (Sihayk) said, "If a disagreement between ministers occurs, or a split between Labor and Likud in the coalition, we broadcast a report saying that the ministry met, discussions were stormy, and harsh words were exchanged among the ministers. However, we do not broadcast details of the discussion in the ministry or the accusations exchanged between the ministers. In spite of this, the Arabic listener respects the fact that we broadcast news about disagreements within the ministry, and he respects our democratic practices."

The Arabic broadcast of the Voice of Israel also differs from other foreign broadcasts directed toward a foreign audience on account of its reliance on Arabic-speaking personnel coming from various different Arab countries. The authorities at Radio Israel failed in their original goal of giving a Palestinian coloration to the Arabic broadcast of the Voice of Israel. They failed in realizing this goal because, as a tool of Zionism, they were intent upon eradicating the Palestinian identity and opposed using the Arabic radio

to develop Palestinian culture, literature, and art within Israel. In spite of this, the authorities at Radio Israel assert that "Israeli Arabs" consider the Arabic broadcast their own station. They claim that 80 percent of them listen to it regularly and that many of the "Israeli Arabs" who hold Israeli citizenship have no objection to working with the broadcast.

Deception Behind the Microphone

The Arabic broadcast at the Voice of Israel employs psychological methods to exploit unsuspecting Arabs. Perhaps the clearest example is the program, "Doctor Behind the Microphone," presented by the Iraqi Jewish woman Ilani al-Basri, who emigrated to Israel in 1950. The Arabic broadcast of the Voice of Israel has set up a special post-office box for her in Geneva, and Ilani al-Basri asks listeners suffering from health problems to write to the program by way of Geneva, as there is no postal connection between Israel and the Arab countries, except for Egypt. Ilani al-Basri claims that her program, which began in 1970, receives hundreds of letters from Arab listeners asking for medical advice and that she turns them over to specialists at Hadassah Hospital and other medical centers to be answered. If the Israeli doctors find that a listener can be treated in Israel, Ilani al-Basri contacts the patient via the program, using the pseudonym with which he signed his letter. For example, she might say, "To the wounded bird in such-and-such a country: The Interior Ministry has approved issuing you an entry visa. Send us the details of your passport, and you shall find the visa waiting for you at the Allenby Bridge crossing point." Ilani al-Basri claims that in this way hundreds of Arabs have been treated in Israeli hospitals. It is clear, however, that this kind of claim is intended to cause doubts, to be provocative, and to suggest to simple listeners to the Arabic broadcast of the Voice of Israel that the neighboring Arab states condone the entry of Arabs into Israel and that Israel is a "humane" state concerned even with treating its enemies in its hospitals. Miss Zayn al-Rifa'i, press attache at the Jordanian embassy in London, denied this Israeli claim and confirmed to AL-MAJALLAH that Jordanian authorities allow no Arab to cross the Allenby Bridge to the West Bank, whatever his circumstances. She said to AL-MAJALLAH, "We allow only those who have family reunion permits to cross. We also allow tourists visiting Jordan to cross after obtaining special permits. It is certain, however, that Jordanian authorities do not allow Arabs to enter Israel for treatment or for any other purpose.

The Arabic broadcast of the Voice of Israel, which can be heard from Morocco to Iraq, transmits until 1 am and broadcasts news every half hour. To gain the attention of listeners, the Arabic station broadcasts two interludes every day, each 1/2 hour in length, of rare Umm Kalthum songs.

In addition to radio, there is television transmission directed at neighboring Arab countries for 1 and 1/2 hours a day, from 6:30 to 8 pm. Israeli television can be seen in a wide area locally and in the neighboring Arab countries. Its most famous personalities are Sa'id al-Qasim and his wife, Rudaynah al-Qasim, and Su'ad Qaraman.

Ever since Israeli forces swept into Lebanon in 1982, Israeli authorities have been planning the establishment of a special radio station directed at South Lebanon. In the past year, a station was established in the "security zone" in South Lebanon to broadcast to Lebanese in the south in an attempt to win them over. The station is staffed by Arabic-speaking Israelis and by some Lebanese who cooperate with the occupation authorities in the border strip.

BBC Overseas Service

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 22-27 Oct 86 pp 57-61

[Article: "'London Here'--More Intelligent Than the Others"]

[Text] In this third installment, we present the final pages of our report on foreign broadcasts to the Arabs. In the last two issues we covered The Voice of America, Radio Moscow, Radio Monte Carlo, Swiss World Radio, Radio Beijing, and the Israeli Radio. Now we discuss the BBC and the Arabic program of Radio Tehran.

The Arabic section of the BBC is considered to be the oldest foreign news source in the Arab world and the most important one in the field of radio stations. The section was founded in 1938, to constitute the first foreign language in which the BBC overseas service transmitted. Its purpose was to combat the Nazi propaganda in the Middle East that was being broadcast by the Iraqi announcer Yunus al-Bahri from Radio Berlin and that was being widely welcomed in Arab circles hostile to the British and French presence in the Arab homeland and to British schemes aimed at establishing a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine, implementing the Balfour declaration.

Since its foundation, the Arabic section of the BBC has remained more intelligent than other stations that broadcast in Arabic. It has not followed the method of blatant propaganda that insults the listener's intelligence and gets on his nerves. The Arabic section gained even more credibility after 1970, when then Foreign Minister Sir Alec Douglas Hume, in a speech given in the city of Moorgate, recognized the legitimate right of the Palestinian people. That transformation in British government policy toward the Palestinian people was reflected in the attitudes of BBC foreign broadcasts, which are financially dependent on the British Foreign Office, despite their administrative and executive connection with the BBC.

In the last few years since the signing of the Camp David Accords, the BBC seems to have begun to lose its sensitivity about the Arab-Israeli conflict. This became apparent when it appointed Stewart Young, a self-confessed Zionist, chairman of the BBC Board of Directors, and when, in the past year, it appointed a Jew, Benny 'Ammar, deputy head of the Arabic section.

During the 6-Day War of 1968, when Israel was able in a sudden surprise strike to destroy most of the Egyptian Air Force on the ground, leaving Egyptian forces in the Sinai open and without air cover to defend them from

the ferocity of the Israeli Air Force, the Arab broadcasters in the Arabic section of the BBC did not believe these reports coming from Israeli and Western sources of information. The Egyptian media, echoed by the Arab radio stations, were denying that the Egyptian Air Force had been destroyed and were talking about the downing of Israeli planes by the dozens, like flies. When there were repeated reports from Israeli and Western sources about the extreme pressures to which Egyptian forces in the Sinai were being subjected and about the issuance of an order to them to withdraw toward the canal, the Arabs interpreted this as a tactical retreat aimed at forming the jaws of a pincers that would close on the advancing Israeli forces and destroy them.

However, report of the defeat followed on report in a way that left no room for doubt about the extent of the reverse that had befallen the Arab nation, until news came of the fall of Jerusalem and the Arabic section broadcast the painful report. The atmosphere in the halls of the Arabic section was extremely tense. Had Jerusalem really fallen? Had al-Aqsa Mosque and the Church of the Resurrection come under Zionist control, or was it a lie that they were using in a well-planned psychological war to destroy the morale of the Arab fighters? The dejection was quickly scattered, and gloomy faces shone again with smiles when the Jordanian embassy in London telephoned the Arab announcers to deny that Jerusalem had fallen and to ask that a delegation of broadcasters be sent to the embassy building to meet with Ambassador Midhat Jum'ah. Included in the delegation were Professor Hasan al-Karmi, the late Musa al-Bashuti, the late Akram Salih, and others. The ambassador stated to the delegation that Jerusalem had not fallen and that he had moments earlier been speaking to King Husayn, who was with the Jordanian forces fighting in Jerusalem itself. He demanded that the Arab broadcasters not allow themselves to be exploited for the purposes of Zionist propaganda and insisted that a bulletin be broadcast denying that the Holy City had fallen.

Jordanian Denial

The Arabic section was faced with two choices: either broadcast the Jordanian ambassador's denial, or be faced with a shutdown of the Arabic section because the Arab announcers would refuse to cooperate. In spite of the insistence of officials of the foreign broadcast service, based on their correspondents' sources, that Jerusalem had actually fallen, they chose to broadcast the Jordanian denial. This was because broadcasting the communique of an official Arab authority in the context of reports confirming the fall of Jerusalem would have as much effect on the credibility of the authority that had issued the communique as it would have on the credibility of the BBC. British officials also tolerated the emotional outbursts of some Arab announcers following the announcement of the resignation of Egyptian President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir in light of the crushing defeat. He was described on the air as "the great Arab hero," "the immortal Arab leader," and other labels not customary in BBC parlance.

These actions reflected the sensitivity of those in charge of the foreign broadcasting service and their perception of the impact of the defeat on the minds of the Arab broadcasters, who had been as shaken by the defeat as other sons of the Arab nation. They took no disciplinary action toward anyone, and this stand on their part earned them the gratitude of the Arab broadcasters. This, however, did not banish the fears of some announcers that the Zionist propaganda apparatus might attempt to exploit the BBC indirectly. These fears were confirmed during the 1973 Ramadan War. During the decisive battle of Sa'sa', whose fall would have meant that Israeli forces would reach Damascus, and when Moshe Dayan, then Israeli defense minister, was boasting that he would dine the next day in the capital of the Umayyads, a news report from Israeli sources, sent by the Zionist BBC reporter Michael Elkins, arrived asserting that Sa'sa' had fallen into the hands of the Israelis. But the Arab announcer on duty intentionally dropped the item from the news broadcast. When AL-MAJALLAH asked him about this, he said, "I had a misgiving that the item had been foisted upon the BBC, which was widely heard in the Arab homeland at that critical period, and that the purpose of foisting the item upon the BBC was to spread panic and confusion in the ranks of Syrian fighters when they heard that the strategic town had fallen, thus making it easier for the Israelis to occupy it." The guess of this broadcaster was correct. The next morning, it became clear that the town had not fallen, and the BBC World Service, which had broadcast the report in English, was forced to apologize.

The Most Important Section

The Arabic section forms the most important section in the overseas broadcasting service and the largest one after the World Service, which broadcasts 24 hours a day in English and enjoys international respect and credibility. The Arabic section, with headquarters at Bush House in the heart of London, broadcasts 9 hours a day in two periods: morning and evening. Although it broadcasts various variety and musical programs, these merely constitute a framework for the informational programs and news broadcasts, which attempt to focus on issues of the Arab world, while not neglecting other international affairs. Because of the abundance of news programs, such as "The World at Noon," "The World in the Evening," "Newsreel," "Around the Arab World," "Arab Affairs in British Newspapers," "What British Newspapers Are Saying," "Questions and Answers on Politics," and other programs, the broadcast is welcomed by Arab listeners thirsty to learn about and follow developments in the Arab world, particularly since they ordinarily find nothing to satisfy their thirst in the local, government-controlled media. Nevertheless, these programs, based as they are on reports from BBC reporters, reflect a foreign view and treatment of events and are influenced by the reporter's preferences and personal inclinations. One ought to point out, however, that, as is the case with the majority of foreign newspaper reporters not committed to a stand on the Arab-Israeli struggle, most of the BBC's reporters maintain objectivity and neutrality in their reports, after having spent time in the Arab countries and learned the true conditions. However, these reports, which form the basic material for the news broadcasts, are subject to the editors' scalpel in the central newsroom that produces the news broadcasts

for all sections of the 37 foreign broadcasting services, and the editors' positions and preferences can influence how the news is formulated and presented or put the focus on one side of the news rather than another. One of the Arab broadcasters told us that they sometimes protest to the news department the way an item has been formulated or its content. During the last 2 years, the Arabic section has been jammed in Iraq, because Iraqi authorities consider it non-objective, especially in its concentration on charges that Iraq is using poison gas against the Iranians in the Gulf war.

Although the foreign broadcasts in the BBC are not the largest of their kind in the world--they occupy fifth place in terms of weekly number of broadcasting hours, after the Soviet Union, the United States, China, and West Germany--the BBC estimates that the number of its listeners throughout the world is greater than that of any other foreign radio broadcasts. In its 1986 yearly report, issued in November 1985, the BBC estimated that its regular listeners in various parts of the world numbered 120 million: 100 million of them listening to foreign-language broadcasting, and 20 million to the English-language World Service. The foreign broadcasts reach these estimates by various means, one of which is by letters reaching them. Last year, these passed a record number of 480,000. The number of regular listeners would be higher were it not for the fact that the Soviet Union and Poland jam transmissions in these two languages.

Funding From the Foreign Office

Unlike BBC domestic broadcasts, which obtain their budgets from yearly television license fees of 58 pounds for a color television set and 18 pounds for a black-and-white one, BBC foreign broadcasts are funded by the British Foreign Office. In fiscal 1984-85, the Foreign Office paid 81 million pounds to the foreign broadcasts: 62 million pounds of this for the foreign broadcasts themselves, 6 million pounds for a station at Caversham, near London, to monitor other radio stations, and the remaining 13 million pounds for modernizing or purchasing equipment. In return for its expenditures on the foreign broadcasts, the Foreign Office retains the right to determine the languages in which they broadcast and the number of weekly broadcasting hours for each section. Officials in the foreign broadcasts insist that they are completely independent editorially, though it is a well-known fact that high officials regularly meet with officials in the Foreign Office. It is believed that the reason for these meetings is to set the broad outlines of overall policy to be followed by the foreign broadcasts, including the policy of the Arabic section.

In addition to broadcasting news programs, the Arabic section takes a great interest in promoting British industry and trade, in British achievements in various scientific, medical, and other fields, and in the British way of life, through numerous special programs. Through their contents, these programs stimulate the interest of merchants and importers in the Arab world and the interest of ordinary listeners. This is reflected in the increase of tourism to Britain, which in the past year passed 1 million Arab visitors. The broadcast word is the quickest means of reaching the masses in other

countries, especially given the 700 percent rise in the number of radio sets in the world during the past 30 years, so that there are now 1.5 billion radio sets in various parts of the world, or 2 radio sets for each television set. BBC estimates indicate that the number of radios in the Middle East and Africa jumped from 3.5 million in 1955 to 100 million at present.

There are 86 employees working in the Arabic section, 50 of them broadcasters. In the various programs it presents, the section also makes use of many voices from outside the staff of employees, in return for a set remuneration for each program. The Arabic broadcasters come from many Arab countries. They are divided into permanent employees with pensions, and employees on limited contract, usually 5 years. In the past year, the London newspaper THE OBSERVER revealed the existence of an office located in the domestic broadcasting building and occupied by employees of the MI-5 antiespionage unit, their job being to screen all domestic and international BBC employees for security and to prevent anyone suspect from reaching sensitive posts. These obscure considerations have led to the disappearance of many outstanding broadcasting voices from behind BBC microphones.

In the recent administrative changes, the Arabic section was divided into three principal sections: broadcasting and translation, political programming, and special programming. As previously mentioned, the Arabic section cannot interfere in the operation of formulating the news, which is centrally edited for all sections of the foreign broadcasts. However, the broad outlines of the daily political programs are discussed in two meetings, one in the morning and one in the evening. These meetings are attended by the section director and his assistant, the heads of the three sections just mentioned, and the producers of the political programs. However, the head of the section and the producer of the program are allowed freedom to add new emergency bulletins that arrive at the last minute.

It remains to be said that the Arabic section of the BBC, with the huge resources available to it as a result of its reliance to a great extent on texts originally prepared for the World Service, and as a result of the relative freedom its workers enjoy, has over the years become a school that local Arabic radio stations strive to imitate. However, this position that it has built up in the Arab world could, in the opinion of some of the Arabic announcers, go up in smoke if the management of the foreign broadcasts insists on ignoring Arab sensitivities about the Arab-Israeli struggle. Three years ago, the Thatcher government appointed the Zionist Stewart Young as chairman of the BBC Board of Trustees. During the past year, following Young's recent death, another Jew was chosen as deputy head of the Arabic section--the Egyptian-born Benny 'Ammar. His appointment caused an outcry in the Arabic press. Some employees of the Arabic section feared that Benny 'Ammar would within 3 years become head of the section, after the retirement of its current head, Jim Norris. However, for unknown reasons, and in spite of his having been sent to a 6-month course in Arabic, Benny 'Ammar was transferred from his post as deputy head of the Arabic section and was appointed head of BBC broadcasts to Southeast Europe.

[Box, p 60]

Principal Foreign Broadcasting Stations in the World

The nations of the world assign great importance to their overseas radio broadcasts for propaganda purposes in the ideological, political, and commercial fields. The Soviet Union ranks first among all countries of the world in weekly hours of broadcasting directed to foreign audiences. Among the Arab states, Egypt occupies first place and is eighth among the nations of the world. The table below includes the most important countries that broadcast to foreign audiences, with the exception of countries that transmit for a relatively few hours. The overseas broadcasts of the United States include The Voice of America, and the stations Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty that transmit from Munich, West Germany, to the communist bloc.

The list represents the number of weekly transmission hours for each country, based on 1985 statistics.

<u>[Country]</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1984</u>
Soviet Union	656	1417	2001	2169
United States	1690	1822	2029	2043
People's Republic of China	159	1027	1423	1460
West Germany	105	671	767	792
United Kingdom	558	667	719	728
North Korea	53	392	455	593
Albania	47	154	490	581
Egypt	100	505	635	546
East Germany	9	308	342	408
India	117	175	326	403
Cuba	-	325	311	382
Australia	226	299	379	347
Nigeria	-	63	61	322
Poland	359	280	340	320
Iran	10	118	154	303
Netherlands	120	235	400	288
Japan	91	249	259	287
Bulgaria	60	154	197	281
Czechoslovakia	147	189	253	265
Turkey	100	91	172	263
France	191	183	108	251
Spain	98	276	312	235
Israel	28	92	198	225
South Africa	127	84	141	205
Romania	109	163	190	201
Italy	185	160	170	169
Canada	83	81	159	154
Hungary	99	121	127	123

These statistics are taken from the BBC Yearbook, 1986.

Radio Iran

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 22-28 Oct 86 p 61

[Article by Dr 'Ali Nurizadeh: "Arabic Radio Iran: Propaganda for Khomeyni"]

[Text] "This is Tehran, the Iranian Broadcasting Company,"--"Radio Ahwaz, from Iran,"--"This Is Bandar 'Abbas, from Iran"--

For 33 years, these station identifications have not been strange to listeners in the Arab world--since, that is, the Iranian Prime Minister Dr Mohammad Mosaddeq, who led the movement to nationalize the Iranian oil industry, summoned the head of the Department of Information at that time, Dr Bashir Farahmand, and asked him to set aside an hour of the Iranian radio's programming to broadcast news of Iran in the Arabic language. Two weeks after that meeting, Tehran radio announced that it would broadcast an Arabic program 1/2 hour every night to present events of Iran to Arab brothers. It is worth noting that Dr Bashir Farahmand was unable to conclude a working agreement with a professional Arabic announcer within the short time Dr Mosaddeq had given him to begin radio broadcasting in Arabic. He was unable to find anyone able to present his Arabic programs except a Kurd who spoke good Arabic, though with a Kurdish accent. This man had been responsible for the Kurdish programs at the Iranian radio and was their announcer. When Tehran radio began its Arabic programs, a large number of listeners sent letters inquiring about the nationality of the announcer who spoke good Arabic, but with a strange accent unknown to Arab listeners.

From that day at the end of 1952 when the voice of Tehran in Arabic first reached the Arab listener, it was only a short time before Tehran Arabic Radio became one of the stations whose voice was heeded in the Arab world. The success of the Voice of Tehran in Arabic can be attributed to two reasons: first, its strong opposition to the movement of Arab nationalism led by the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. This reason especially appealed to the group hostile to 'Abd-al-Nasir. Tehran Radio was not afraid of Ahmad Sa'id, the Voice of the Arabs, or even the "wrath of the masses."

Secondly, a large group of professional men and women announcers from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq joined the Arabic section of the Iranian radio.

One should point out the role that the well-known Syrian journalist Nadhir Fansuh, who fled to Iran after the union of Egypt and Syria, played in encouraging Arab writers and journalists to help the fledgling Arabic Tehran radio station with their articles, reports, and commentaries. With the beginning of the sixties, Tehran's Arabic station increased the hours of its programming from 2 hours a day to 4 hours and added another Arabic station from Ahwaz, the capital of Khuzistan province. This second station, Radio Ahwaz, quickly became such a success that some called it a second Radio Monte Carlo. This success was due to the station's first announcer, a Lebanese from the Haddad family.

At the beginning of the seventies, Iran established its third Arabic station, at Bandar 'Abbas at the entrance to the Arabian Gulf, for the Arab countries bordering the Gulf and the Sea of Oman. In 1972, following the opening of the Qasr-e Shirin station on the Iran-Iraq border, with a strength of 1,000 kilowatts, Tehran used this station to strengthen its Arabic programming, which increased to 12 hours. The Arabic programming of Radio Tehran was supervised by Mr Mahmud Ja'fariyan himself, the deputy director of Iranian radio and television. He was a great lover of Arabic culture and had been born at Karbala'. Ja'fariyan placed a large budget at the disposal of the Arabic section of Iranian radio. It is said that it was Ja'fariyan, who was executed by the Khomeyni regime after the revolution, who ordered the Arabic-language stations to broadcast all military bulletins broadcast by Egyptian and Syrian radio during the 1973 Ramadan/October War. The Iranian Arabic radio was the only radio station outside the Arab world that completely ignored the Israeli bulletins and claims in the October/Ramadan War.

As is the case with Arab radio stations, the Arab section in the Iranian radio paid a great deal of attention to music. Its program was not lacking in Arabic musical selections and songs requested by listeners. Every Thursday night, concerts of songs by Umm Kalthum, 'Abd-al-Halim Hafiz, Wardah al-Jaza'iriyah, Farid al-Atrash, and Fayruz were broadcast from Tehran, Ahwaz, and Bandar 'Abbas. When Khomeyni came to power, the number of hours devoted by Iranian stations to Arabic programming reached 96 hours a week, and the Iranian radio was transformed from a means of entertainment used by the pre-revolution regime to serve its aims into a propaganda apparatus aimed at brainwashing its listeners inside Iran and at exporting what was called "Khomeyni-ism." We must recognize that there is no regime in the world as concerned with propaganda as the ruling regime in Iran. As officials of the regime have often announced, the Arab and Islamic worlds are considered the basic target for the propaganda machine that Khomeyni uses to export his revolution. The revolutionary regime's interest in Arabic programming has been greater than its predecessor's, especially following the outbreak of the Iran-Iraq war. The Arabic section of the Iranian radio has increased its hours of transmission to 22 hours a day from Tehran, Bandar 'Abbas, and Ahwaz, and the regime has put four amplifying stations into operation at Qasr-e Shirin, Hamadan, Dezful, and Qeshm Island to serve its Arabic broadcasting and launch media attacks against Arab and Islamic regimes. Unlike Dr Bashir Farahmand, who came across no professional Arabic announcer, Khomeyni has not lacked for an announcer, since he has in his hands hundreds of Arab extremists whom the imam has mobilized against their countries. The Arabic section of the broadcasting station of the Islamic Republic of Iran is currently supervised by a committee symbolically headed by Dr Mohammad 'Ali Hadi, deputy chairman of the Defense Committee of the Islamic Advisory Council. The actual head of the committee is Dr Muhammad al-Hashimi, son of Mahmud al-Hashimi, the official spokesman for the Supreme Council of what is called "the Islamic Revolution in Iraq."

Several Arab journalists and writers, such as the Egyptian woman writer Safinaz Kazim, the Palestinian researcher Munir Shafiq, and the learned Hani Fahs, cooperate with the Arabic section.

12937/7051

CSO: 4404/103

ALGERIA

PRICES, UNEMPLOYMENT, FRUSTRATED YOUTH HEIGHTEN SOCIAL TENSIONS

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Nov 86 pp 1,4

[Article by Frederic Fritscher: "Algeria Sick Due to the Crisis; Expensive Living Conditions, Shortages, Unemployment, Frustrations"]

[Text] Algiers--One fact is evident: that, 2 weeks after the violent incidents that shook eastern Algeria, the demands of the high school and other students of Constantine and Setif, while perhaps legitimate, have only been a catalyst. The situation was ripe. All the elements had combined, as everywhere else in Algeria, so that apparently innocuous developments deteriorated: the austerity imposed by the crisis was being more and more resented, dissatisfaction was spreading, and the "fed up" point was not far off.

The high cost of living is now affecting all the social classes. A kilogram of mutton varies around 150 dinars (220 French francs), and the most well-to-do, who can buy steak, find it at 180 dinars, often on condition that they buy something else at the butcher's.

The rise in cost of living is worsened by the chronic cycle of shortages. Coffee, which was lacking for 2 months at the end of last winter, again cannot be found in some places. There is a regular shortage of table oil, and Algerians often take advantage of a weekend to bring olive oil from the nearby Kabylie. Soap and laundry soap powder have been rare commodities the whole summer.

The tight supply of major consumer products inevitably causes speculation, which the government regularly condemns in the national press. Not long ago, pepper was selling at 50 dinars per kg from behind the counter. However, restaurant operators no longer bought it, annoyed by the behavior of their customers, who often left with the pepper in their pockets.

The social climate is slowly deteriorating. Hiring into the public service has been suspended since the beginning of the year, and layoffs are beginning to occur in the administration, the national corporations, and the wilaya (department) companies.

Until now, unemployment did not officially exist in Algeria. There is no unemployment payment, and anyone without a job would remain without resources

if the cellular family was not so supportive. Two or three working individuals in a family often provide the living for 15 or so others, who, particularly in view of the housing crisis, usually live under the same roof.

This promiscuity inevitably poses some other problems. The most unfortunate families often share only one or two rooms. There are some in which the mother establishes a taking-turns arrangement and forbids her sons to return before a certain hour.

In some quarters, it is not rare to see the streets suddenly empty of exclusively male young people at the moment when the television programs end. The television sets are pushed against the wall, the mattresses unfolded, and everyone returns to sleep.

The street is certainly not the best kind of school. The youth are still a crucial problem for Algeria today. The distractions are rare and expensive, when they do exist.

In Constantine, they are limited to a few movie theaters, not all in good condition and where the program is not enticing; one swimming pool not in operation, and two stadiums, of which one gives priority to schoolchildren and soldiers.

Although the school attendance is very high throughout the country, a good number of children leave the educational system after elementary school. The others who reach secondary and then higher education already know that the diplomas are not a meal ticket guaranteeing them an occupational future in accordance with their ambitions.

The government has done a lot for the youth, but the needs remain immense. Two-thirds of the population is under 20 and did not experience the war. The concerns of the young people born after independence no longer have any relation to those of their elders.

Generational Conflicts

In Algeria, which for better or worse is a country that opens to the West and where the consumer society remains the reference model, the access to wealth does not exist except for a privileged minority. The frustrations are many among a youth with critical attitude but without political awareness.

The decision to introduce two new subjects in the final year of class, religious education and political education, clearly reflects the state's dual concern. On the one hand, to show the youth that fundamentalism is a dangerous deviation of Islam; on the other hand, to instill in them what is called here "the spirit of November" (Footnote 1)(Reference to 1 November 1954, the date of the beginning of the Algerian revolution), in order to keep them on the line of the single party.

This measure upsets the high school students, who throughout the country have protested and sometimes demonstrated to oppose it. The expression of this disagreement prompts a question: Is it not too late to avoid completion of the rupture between two generations? Within less than a year, the direct

television satellites will be flooding Algeria with all kinds of programs from the West, further exposing them to idea trends that do not accord well with the current political system.

The vicissitudes of daily life have thus played a determining role in the developments in Constantine and Setif, and the efforts by the authorities to distinguish, on the one hand, "hooligans and habitual offenders who have been destructive," and, on the other, "the students who spontaneously disassociated themselves from the destructive demonstrators," clearly reflects their desire to recover what is recoverable. In the aftermath, it is a matter of trying to establish a dialogue with the student world that did not previously exist, in order to bring about solutions to its problems, certainly, but especially to protect the youth from what the official viewpoint calls "manipulations."

9920

CSO: 4519/48

ALGERIA

GENERAL BENLOUCIF'S DISMISSAL AS CHIEF OF STAFF EXAMINED

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Nov 86 p 48

[Article by Frederic Fritscher: "General Benloucif Is Relieved of His Functions as Chief of Staff; the Artisan of the Modernization of the Army"]

[Text] Algiers--Gen Mostefa Benloucif, chief of staff of the National People's Army (ANP) has been relieved of his functions "for health reasons" by President Chadli Bendjedid. This was announced on Saturday, 22 November, in an official communique. He will be replaced by Gen Abdallah Belhouciet already deputy minister of defense to the head of state, who holds the portfolio.

This change at the head of the army is of particular importance in the present situation. General Benloucif is regarded by specialists as an excellent technocrat. In 2 years he had established the new structures of the ANP, transforming the military apparatus that it had been into a real army.

The 30th anniversary of the Algerian insurrection, 1 November 1984, is the turning point date. Until then, the ANP had been directed by the secretary general of the Ministry of Defense, which included several departments. The post was occupied by Mr Benloucif, who then became chief of staff, while several colonels were promoted to the newly created grade of general.

The following year, Mr Benloucif established two independent commands, the air forces and the naval forces. The ground forces command was established in the summer. By the same communique, President Chadli Bendjedid appointed as its commander Gen Khaled Nezzar, who for the present combines this post with that of deputy chief of staff, primarily in charge of logistics.

Having the confidence of the president to complete the restructuring of the army, General Benloucif, now 47, carried out the modernization energetically. He believed in the opening toward the West in military affairs, and seeking diversification of the ANP's suppliers, and he thought he could replace the old superior officers with young technocrats. However, he reckoned without the Soviet Union, which is still influential in Algeria and provides 90 percent of the army's equipment, and he underestimated the influence of the military who derive their legitimacy from the maquis of the war of liberation. Feeling threatened, the latter resorted to General Belhouciet, the best recourse, very close to the president, who played off the moderators and

experts. (Footnote 1)(Born in 1924, General Belhouchet was an NCO in the French Army before joining the FLN in 1958. He led the operations on the Algerian-Tunisian border during the war, then commanded several military regions after independence. He was a member of the Council of the Revolution formed by Boumediene after his accession to power in 1965.)

The removal of Mr Benloucif should be regarded in the light of the 28 October meeting of military leaders at the Defense Ministry chaired by Mr Chadli Bendjedid. The head of state reportedly obtained assurances of the army's support to the open policy and policy of liberalization that the president had been conducting since he came to power. The tone of the speech he made at the beginning of the month, closing the meeting of walis (prefects), clearly shows that he now feels he has his hands free. The agreement by the military was doubtless obtained after frank discussions. Was General Benloucif sacrificed on the altar of political effectiveness?

9920

CSO: 4519/48

EGYPT

NEW CABINET MINISTERS DISCUSS PRIORITIES, AIMS

Cairo AL-AHRAM: AL-TAB'AH AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic 14 Nov 86 p 13

[Article by Muhammad Zayid: "New Ministers and Initial Priorities on Path of Achieving Prosperity for People"]

[Text] In the light of President Mubarak's instructions to the new cabinet which is headed by Dr 'Atif Sidqi and which began exercising its executive responsibility two days ago after the constitutional swearing-in ceremony, the 10 new cabinet ministers have talked to the "People's Interests" page, each outlining the priorities of the work as he sees them in order that he may fulfill the trust assigned him. The ministers assert that these are just initial visualizations and nothing more because the cures and the decisions capable of bringing about the desired change require enough time to be studied. This does not mean wasting the previous effort but adding to it in order to achieve the major objective of prosperity for the Egyptian citizen who aspires for salvation from the hardship of the inherited problems.

Dr Raghieb Duwaydar, Minister of Health: Improving Free Medical Care

I am interested primarily in improving the standard of the medical services at all levels and in all forms and in focusing especially on the free therapeutic services from which the broad base of citizens benefits. These services embody practically the government's constitutional responsibility to provide medical care to every citizen as a right.

My priorities are also inclined toward seeking to enlarge the health insurance circle both quantitatively and qualitatively so that we may secure medical care to society at reasonable and affordable costs.

I also find it necessary to immediately reexamine the situation concerning both local and imported drugs so that we may supply all kinds of medical drugs to the public with facility.

Dr Jalal al-Dhahab: Confronting Rising Prices

The efforts must start with the issue of controlling the prices. We are all aware that some prices undergo sudden and totally unjustifiable increases. The causes of the recurrence of this phenomenon which burdens the citizens

must be studied in order that the phenomenon may be eliminated finally. As for the prices that increase as a result of a shortage of supply, we are required to establish the desired balance between supply and demand, especially in the villages where I have seen flour and soap sold in the black market at manyfold their prices. This requires the preparation of an expeditious plan to increase the distribution outlets and to examine the storage and shipping capability in order that we may maintain the balance between supply and demand.

It is also extremely important to make immediate use of the comprehensive studies which have already been conducted by the Supply Committee and which deal with how to deliver the subsidy to those who deserve it through well-studied means which produce guaranteed results.

Dr Muhammad 'Ali Mahjub, Minister of Religious Trusts: Answering Youth's Questions

The starting axis is to boost the Islamic call in a scientific, modern and enlightened manner so as to tackle the issues of the age by underlining the sound religious thinking and Islam's viewpoint on these issues, including the issue of investments. In an Islamic country, it is not right to hear voices making allegations that conflict with reality. Such allegations must be confronted with the word of the enlightened ulema. Within this framework, we will be careful to meet with the youth in their various gatherings to answer their questions and to deflect the radical currents trying to harm our youth.

If this kind of Islamic call, whether at home or abroad, needs enormous funds, then the religious trusts' funds are more than enough. During seven sessions I have spent in the People's Assembly, we have gotten hold of and regained vast funds which belonged to the religious trusts and were held by the agrarian reform. The fact is that the religious trusts' funds, embodied in arable lands, real estate and businesses, are estimated at billions of pounds. If recovered and invested soundly, they can produce a yield capable of financing completely a number of government activities. This is the second starting axis for the work.

The third axis is concerned with spreading the Islamic call abroad by granting the Higher Islamic Affairs Council all the powers of a minister in order to enable it to perform its enormous tasks. The same powers will be given to the Religious Trusts Authority. This is in addition to responding to the ministry workers' demands concerning charitable work, which used to be customary work on every religious occasion, and to restoring the Council of Trustees so that it may march forward with the call.

Dr Yusri Mustafa, Minister of Economy: Stable Economic Decisions

The starting point is embodied, in my opinion, in the importance of efforts to achieve the current rates of the economic and social development plan with all its well-studied cures for the foreign trade conditions, the balance of payments and the fiscal and credit policies.

However, the implementation means may differ somewhat in light of the dictates of the international changes, such as the drop in oil prices which has actually had an impact.

I am most concerned with achieving stability in the policies that regulate the economic activity so as to create the right climate for greater efforts, especially in the private sector. This may require the adoption of proper and complete measures.

Dr Fathi Surur, Minister of Education: Unified Plan for General and Higher Education and Linking Education to the Egyptian Cultural Identity

The beginning must lie in the formulation of a unified plan for both general and higher education because their separation requires this step in order to best utilize the input to education to produce results that serve Egypt's strong objectives.

Moreover, it is also necessary to link education with the environment's requirements and with the elements of progress through a balanced plan with a futuristic outlook that encompasses the horizons of the age. By necessity, this includes modernization of the educational means.

Another extremely important point is, in my opinion, the need to link education to the Egyptian cultural identity. If there is a distinctive French culture in France and an American culture in the United States, then the transfer and teaching of western science necessarily harbors within its folds the transfer and teaching of western cultures. Therefore, there is a growing need to link education in Egypt, regardless of the given facts that the western discoveries, with the distinctive Egyptian cultural identity.

The initial issues that concern me also include the issue of the problems of the universities with large numbers of students and of developing the provincial universities by trying to deal with their inadequate resources.

Dr Muhammad Ahmad al-Razzaz, Minister of Finance: Delivering Subsidy to Those Who Merit It

Because I have lived with and experienced both the theoretical and practical aspects of my responsibility, I am interested primarily in preserving the continuity of the great effort exerted to implement the first development plan which will end this year and to prepare the second plan which complements the first plan in moving development forward and in enhancing the production sectors and the infra-structures. The current problems must be given priority in order that we may achieve for the citizen the highest degree of prosperity called for by the very high growth rates included in the second plan.

Because the subsidy is a right to which people with a limited income are entitled, I am eager to implement the study which we already have and which defines the means for delivering the subsidy to those who merit it. The fiscal policy will thus play its important role in redistributing society's income so as to achieve a greater degree of social justice.

If increased production is the effective means for controlling price hikes, then I will attach major importance to vertical and horizontal agricultural expansion and to land reclamation activity.

The top priorities also include the need to exert efforts to mobilize the domestic resources so that they may produce the biggest economic yield. The truth is that Egypt is rich with resources. As for the problems, which represent accumulations dating back to the 19th century, Egypt is no exception in the world because it reflects a part of the world's problems. The beginning will also include an important look at the tax sector which we have been developing since 1981 with law No 157 with the aim of improving the working conditions in the Tax Agency and improving the conditions of the agency's workers who make major efforts.

Dr Ahmad Salamah, Minister of Local Government: Enhancing Intrinsic Efforts

All my efforts must start where the efforts of my predecessors in the responsibility ended. I assume that all the previous efforts are completely sound until application shows that they need to be modified.

Within this framework, the beginning lies, in my assessment, in the importance of converting the local units into specialized production units, meaning that every governorate should specialize in distinctive production for which it has the resources.

To achieve this objective, it is necessary to establish the needed coordination among the production sectors, to reconsider the structure of the local government itself, and to eliminate the conflict which actually exists between certain specializations and which necessarily affects production. However, I believe that all this must be tied to a strong boost for the intrinsic efforts so that popular participation may be achieved.

Dr 'Adil 'Izz, Minister of Scientific Research: Linking Research to Problems

My first and biggest interest is in putting scientific research at the Egyptian society's service. What I mean is that all the Egyptian scientific research centers, which include esteemed scientists who have proven their presence to the entire world, must intensify their efforts to develop scientific solutions for the production problems, especially the problems of industrial production which meets society's needs. These efforts can be coordinated with the efforts of the universities' research centers so that the theses the university students submit to obtain their degrees may move in the same direction.

To complement these efforts, the production companies must be encouraged to conclude contracts with the scientific research centers to develop scientific solutions for specific problems that hamper production or to prepare applied studies that lead to quality improvement or to reduced loss. This is something that drew my attention when I was studying in Switzerland.

It may be said that there is a shortage of references or of scientific equipment needed for research. This is not true. The equipment is fully available. The problem is actually embodied in the possibility of the recurrent breakdown of the equipment because of small spare parts. Consequently, it is necessary to establish a maintenance center capable of servicing this equipment.

To embody practically the interest of scientific research in society's problems, I will cooperate with my colleagues the scientists to draw up a list of the national problems that must be given priority and must be tackled by scientific research sooner or later. The criterion of priority must be tied to the possibility of dealing with the problem economically and with the available means, else we should move to the next problem.

'Adli 'Abd-al-Shahid, Minister of Emigration: Encouraging Remittances by Egyptians

Two urgent matters draw my attention from the start. First, we must seek some sort of arrangement with the Ministry of Economy so as to raise the price of the remittances made by Egyptians abroad to make it close to the price of the dollar in the free market which amounts to 190 piasters whereas the incentive price is 135 piasters. With the arrangement I seek, the remittances will multiply in volume without the risk of black market deals.

The second urgent point is that we must amass a number of Arabic teachers in a number of centers in the European capitals so that they may proceed weekly to teach Arabic to the children of the Egyptians who work in these capitals and who yearn for this service.

I am also thinking of establishing a monthly information means to convey to Egypt's citizens abroad their country's news, the government accomplishments and the areas opened for investment so that they may not participate in any project before consulting the ministry in order that they may not be cheated by some firms that exploit their savings.

'Asim 'Abd-al-Haqq, Minister of Manpower: Expanding Training Capabilities.

One of the beginnings occupying my thoughts is to study what the education system produces to meet the labor market needs. A fundamental goal which we must pursue is to turn manpower into a source of production for the Egyptian people, not a burden to the Egyptian economy.

It is also important that the beginning include the issue of training and the possibilities of expanding this training, considering that we are in the direst need of producers, not employees.

This is complemented by the conversion training which I view as extremely important. There are certain specializations that need larger numbers of graduates whereas other specializations experience a surfeit of such graduates. There is certainly a difference between what we mean by human resources and what we mean by human wealth which is impossible to utilize

soundly before we overcome the imbalance between surplus and shortage in the various specializations through greater attention devoted to the conversion training.

Moreover, it is necessary to develop urgently a new and organized view of the Egyptian manpower abroad so as to make sure that it is most efficient and productive and, at the same time, so as to safeguard and protect all its rights and dues.

8494/7051

CSO: 4504/55

EGYPT

FUTURE OF PARTY SYSTEM ANALYZED

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 6 Nov 86 p 5

[Article: "Ten Years After Parties' Return to Political Arena: Democratic Action Will Reach Deaderd If Restrictions in Parties Law Continue to Exist; al-Sadat Wanted Tame Opposition and Blew It Away When It Exercised Its Right"]

[Text] On 11 November 1986, 10 years will have passed on the parties' return to Egypt's political life. Throughout the past 10 years, party action has raised numerous questions and detonated numerous issues, the most urgent of which is perhaps: What is the future of the Egyptian parties, especially in light of the continued enforcement of the currently existing parties law? Until when will the popular parties be kept away from the decision-making process while the manufactured parties continue to hold the reins of power? After 10 years, what is the outcome of the partisan experiment? Is the current sentence in favor or against this experiment?

What is the Egyptian parties' future? Can the existing parties have any future if the current parties law continues to be enforced? Will the desired change which is awaited by the masses continue to be hard to achieve through the legal channels? Will violence continue to be the only means to bring about such a change? Until when will manufactured parties continue to hold power while other truly popular parties remain in the shadow?

Moreover, what is the outcome of the partisan experiment so far? Is the current sentence in favor or against this experiment? Who is responsible for all the previous crises, for the intimidation, forgery, tension, and falsehood with which we live daily in the official statements and in the elections? Till when can this continue?

Prominent Islamic thinker Khalid Muhammad Khalid has said in one of his articles: "Democracy is not a 'train ticket' which we throw away and trample indifferently when we reach our destination." He has also said: "The opposition's name signifies its task. Opposition cannot be 'sterilized' and democracy cannot be wrapped in bales of surgical cotton." He has further said: "Those who want democracy without opposition are people who want democracy without democracy."

This is precisely what the late President Anwar al-Sadat wanted. He wanted democracy without democracy. He wanted democracy to be a favor, not a right. President al-Sadat never believed in democracy. The plurality formula did not emanate from his personal conviction or will. The historical circumstance is what dictated this formula to him. What proves that this is true is the October Working Paper, issued in April 1974, which states: "I reject the call for the artificial fragmentation of the national unity through the creation of parties."

We are not about to analyze here the historical circumstance which forced al-Sadat to change his position and to accept the plurality formula.

Beginning: Podiums

In July 1975, the Third Socialist Union Congress issued its resolution approving the establishment of podiums reflecting the various currents. Forty people applied to set up podiums. In January 1976, President al-Sadar formed the Egyptian Political Action Committee which comprised 168 members. This committee held 16 meetings and the majority of its members (135) supported continuation of the Socialist Union and the formation of podiums within this union. Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, the then secretary general of the Socialist Union Central Committee and the current People's Assembly speaker, was one of those who supported this tendency. This exposes Dr al-Mahjub's real positions under the parliament's dome and exposes his disbelief in democracy and in the plurality formula. At the same time, it exposes Dr al-Mahjub's hostility to al-Wafd Party and to the opposition parties generally.

There was another tendency in the committee (15 members) which supported the formation of political parties in their capacity as the ideal form for reflecting the opposition's public opinion.

In March 1976, Egypt embarked on the partisan experiment on a decree by al-Sadat. The degree confined the experiment to three podiums only:

The right: Socialist Liberals Organization.

The center: The Egyptian Arab Socialist Organization.

The left: The National Progressive Grouping.

Before 1976 ended, on 11 November specifically, al-Sadat announced transformation of the three political organizations into parties. In justifying his decision, al-Sadat said: I have made my pledge to God and to the people to achieve this sound democracy. This is why I have made this historical decision. A year earlier, al-Sadat declared in a speech he made on 20 November 1975: I reject the call for the artificial fragmentation of the national unity through the creation of parties. The same statement is reiterated in the October Paper, thus proving that al-Sadat did not believe in the multiple-party system.

Impossibility of Forming Party

Political parties law No 40 of 1977 is full of holes and gaps. It incorporates numerous restrictions that make it impossible to form a new party. A prerequisite for forming any new party is that 20 People's Assembly members sign as party founders. Another prerequisite is that a party endorse the principles of the July and May revolutions. A third prerequisite is that the party-founding documents be submitted to the governmental Parties Committee. This makes it impossible to form any party without the government's wish, blessing, and approval. Another restriction, namely approval of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, has been added.

To harass the opposition parties, President al-Sadat considered in 1980 adding an article to the parties law and to the draft press law to codify the principle of letting the Egyptian public opinion select the person permitted to head a political party or the journalist nominated to head a partisan party. It is to this extent that al-Sadat wanted it an artificial democracy tailored to his exact specifications!

It is Dr Muhammad 'Usfur's opinion that the legislative tendency in Egypt, embodied in the parties law, is an undemocratic tendency and that this law is responsible for all that is happening and that will happen in connection with the party system. Parties law No 40 of 1977 is as remote as possible from democracy whereas article 2 of parties law No 179 of 1952, which was issued under emergency conditions and under the revolutionary legitimacy, reaffirms clearly the Egyptians' right to form political parties and every Egyptian's right to join any political party. This law did not make it conditional that a certain number of People's Assembly members endorse a party in order that it may be founded.

After the new al-Wafd Party was founded on 4 February 1978, another restriction was added namely the law for protecting the internal front and social peace. It is a law which was issued specifically to prevent Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din from heading al-Wafd Party, as evidenced by the fact that it excluded the leaders of the old National Party and of the Young Egypt Party from the ban on joining political parties or engaging in political action for those whom, according to this law, corrupted the political life prior to 1952. The ban was applied only to Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, to Ibrahim Faraj, al-Wafd party secretary general, and to 'Abd-al-Fattah Hasan, al-Wafd Party deputy chairman. As a result, the party had no option but to freeze its activity when just 100 days had passed on its formation.

Political Void

Al-Sadat became aware of the political void when al-Wafd Party removed itself from the political arena, when the Grouping Party was hit in the wake of the 18-19 January 1977 events and when its newspaper and publications were seized and repeated police campaigns were launched against it and when the Egypt Party weakened, failed to perform its role as a ruling party in the face of the January 1977 events and disappeared from the arena completely. On 25 July 1978, al-Sadat declared his plan to form a new party under his own leadership.

He completely surprised all the Central Committee members when he announced the formation of the National Party at the end of his speech, saying: "Until last night, I was not thinking of announcing the party. But I have (sought God's help) and here I am declaring the National Party to you."

The National Democratic Party was not, in fact, a new party. It was founded on the debris of the Egypt Arab Socialist Party which was an extension of the single party existing since 'Abd-al-Nasir's days. On 21 September 1978, the central security forces seized the head offices of the Egypt Party on Corniche al-Nil, 375 other offices, 220 vehicles and 8.5 million pounds in bank accounts. On the following day, 22 September, the press published a decision attributed to the Egypt Party's Political Bureau alleging falsely that the Political Bureau decided to "merge the Egypt party with the National Party" which had not even been founded yet.

It later became evident that none of the steps taken had been correct. On 30 April 1985, the ninth circuit of the South Cairo Court of First Instance, presided over by Counselor Muhammad 'Abd-al-Ghaffar, issued a verdict nullifying the 21 September 1978 decision merging the Egypt Party with the National Party and negating all its consequences.

By the same criterion, al-Sadat wanted his opposition to come from within the National Party. But this idea did not materialize and remained unimplementable. This is why al-Sadat welcomed the formation of an opposition party--Labor Party--under the chairmanship of Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the then minister of irrigation. This party's deputy chairman was Muhammad Abu Wafiyah, President al-Sadat's brother-in-law. On 12 December 1978, al-Sadat signed his name as one of the Labor Party's founders. This is the first, and last, time in the history of parliamentary life in which a party chairman signs as founder of another party. Al-Sadat thus thought that the Labor Party would not disobey him and that it would be tantamount to the National Party's opposition wing. But the Labor Party's action demonstrated something different from what al-Sadat had sought, especially when this party expressed its reservation on the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty and when the independent deputies rejected this treaty. This is why al-Sadat issued on 21 April 1979 a decree dissolving the People's Assembly and calling for new elections on 14 June 1979. In those elections, al-Sadat was able to rid himself of his most prominent opponents, including Mahmud al-Qadi, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din and Kamal-al-Din Husayn.

Even though al-Sadat was able to remove his opponents, the tense relations between him and the opposition parties did not come to an end. On the contrary, the tension peaked when al-Sadat terminated the remaining opposition parties and their papers in May 1981. The country then experienced the September 1981 massacre and the arrest of 1,536 citizens from the various political tendencies and forces. This event was followed by al-Sadat's assassination on the military parade stand on the morning of 6 October 1981.

Al-Wafd's Return

As soon as Husni Mubarak assumed the presidency, he released the political detainees and permitted the gradual return of the political parties' papers. Al-Wafd Party leaders considered resuming the party's political activity and rescinding the June 1978 decision freezing the party's activity. But the governmental Parties Affairs Committee objected to this resumption and demanded that the party submit its founding documents anew.

In December 1983, the party returned on the strength of a judicial ruling after a long period of disagreement with the Parties Committee. Only 3 months later, AL-WAFD, the party's organ, was issued.

In April 1984, the People's Assembly elections were conducted under the canopy of the relative-list election law which makes it conditional that a party obtain 8 percent of the votes in order to be represented in the People's Assembly. The National Party was able to get 74 percent of the vote under the canopy of the intervention of the local government agencies and the police's negative neutrality. Al-Wafd was able to obtain 15 percent of the vote but the Labor and Grouping parties were not able to obtain the required 9 percent.

The honeymoon between the opposition parties and the government did not last long and the opposition embarked on numerous battles. The sword of the "emergency law" has continued to hang over the opposition parties' heads which have been operating under the shadow of the emergency law from 6 October 1982 and until the present. This is what motivates the opposition parties to take somewhat radical positions which the government and the national party leaders interpret as attempts to attain power by any means and to instigate the masses. Holding the Consultative Council elections under the canopy of the absolute list law and under the supervision of a minister of interior threatening the opposition day and night was a catastrophe which motivated the opposition parties to adopt a unified position toward the elections, namely, boycott them and urge the people not to go to the ballot boxes. The state mobilized its agencies to persuade the masses to vote but failed. The result is that 11 million voters have testified to the falsehood of those elections.

It is the opinion of many people engaged in political action that it is difficult to speculate on the parties' future if the current parties law continues to be enforced. All assert that the majority of the people continue to watch the political game from afar to see how honest this game is, especially since it has become impossible to bring about the change the people have been awaiting since the beginning of President Mubarak's administration through the legal channels.

It is Dr Muhammad 'Usfur's opinion that there is no hope and no real future for democracy in Egypt unless the parties law in its entirety is abolished, with just the constitutional provision acknowledging the right to forming parties retained. The authority's hand will then be lifted from the freedom of the people to engage in political action and the manufactured parties will then fall from power, with truly popular parties formed by free-will inevitably replacing them. Where are we heading? This is what time will tell.

8494/7051

CSO: 4504/59

TUNISIA

NEW PREMIER DISCUSSES VARIOUS RECENT PROBLEMS, EVENTS

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 22 Nov 86 pp 22-26

[Interview with Premier Rachid Sfar by As'ad Haydar: "Tunisian Prime Minister Rachid Sfar to AL-MUSTAQBAL"]

[Text] The prime minister's quarters in Tunis have not changed. The traditions are the same, the entry procedures are as they were. The employees in the offices and halls are as they were in the past, monitoring the red tape of their work. The first sign of change was when we were received by Sultan Bouali, rather than Reda Ben Salama, the former press advisor to the former prime minister Mohamed Mzali. We entered the prime minister's office, and Rachid Sfar came out from behind his desk, approached us in all his elegance and greeted us with a calm smile. It is a new tradition with the new prime minister, since he invited Ahmed Medini of the Ministry of Information, Sultan Bouali and me to sit in a quiet corner in the same office, and did not as in the past invite us to go into the special meeting room attached to his office. The servant offered us coffee and the conversation began calmly and amiably.

I took a good look into the face of Prime Minister Rachid Sfar, who according to the Tunisian constitution is supposed to be the automatic successor in the event the position of the presidency becomes vacant. I found Rachid Sfar calm, not alien to authority, but not a politician who is fully versed in the secrets and minutiae of the game of politics. He initiated the conversation with us: "What is the news from Paris?" I understood his reference. I replied, "Paris is quieter than before. It has regained its breath after the September war. But this calm in the security has not brought about an internal and external French political calm. I believe that you are following the statements of former Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali." He answered, the smile gone from his face, "Yes, I am following them. This is something that cannot be allowed, and I see that you in AL-MUSTAQBAL have not participated in the attack." I answered him, "Mr prime minister, we have no restrictions on anyone, but we are not people who pour oil on fire. If we have not held a meeting with Mohamed Mzali yet, that does not mean a position on our part against him or on your side. Rather, this gives concrete form to the position we have had since the magazine AL-MUSTAQBAL made its appearance, which is that we do not take a position with anyone against anyone in

any country we are following and are concerned with. What concerns us is to convey the picture as it is. When we find that it will be useful to hold an interview with Mohamed Mzali or other figures, we will not procrastinate."

Before we follow up on Prime Minister Rachid Sfar's reply, it would be useful to stress two indications that manifested themselves during this interview, which lasted about an hour:

1. Rachid Sfar, the current prime minister, appears to be in an obvious struggle with Rachid Sfar the economic expert. The reason for this is that his adversaries and other observers have used his classification as an economic expert while they were indicating or stressing his lack of political expertise. One should bear in mind that the prime minister's position is a political one. Moreover, the classification of economic expert makes his tenure in the premiership one of temporary duration, owing to the difficult economic situation in Tunisia, and not a prelude to the stabilization and implantation of positions. That was clearly apparent when Rachid Sfar made a violent outburst upon our telling him, "Now, in your capacity as an economic expert, let us talk about the difficult economic situation in Tunisia." His explosion occurred in conjunction with such expressions as "I am a political expert also. I am a politician and I have all the political files and monitor them carefully."

2. The prime minister appears prepared to enter into an open struggle to the very end to stand up to the people who want to turn his entry into the "paradise" of the premiership into "one of temporary duration." That appeared in the course of his assertion that the figure who attracted his attention, aside from President Habib Bourguiba, is that of Churchill, the leader of Britain during World War Two, that is, the politician who was famed for his obstinacy and his struggle to carry out what he had resolved.

Now to return to Prime Minister Rachid Sfar's statement, by which he replied to us after our frank statement on interviewing Mohamed Mzali. Sfar said, "This is what imparts respect to you and to AL-MUSTAQBAL magazine." The prime minister followed up on his statement, proceeding from the reference to Mohamed Mzali, the former prime minister: "Mzali uses the media in the West intensively. Every day we find that he has an interview or an appearance on television. All doors seem to be open to him. The question among the Tunisian citizens is, where did he get this money which enables him to use the media in this manner?"

AL-MUSTAQBAL: We do not know, but you are wondering, and the phrasing of your question puts Mohamed Mzali under a shadow of guilt. Do you have documents on the money of Mzali's that you are wondering about? If you do have documents, we are prepared to publish them.

Rachid Sfar: No, no. To the contrary, we are wondering, along with the citizens, where he got this money from. The Tunisian people of all classes are now wondering about the source of this money which has enabled him to live and move around and make use of the media to distort his country's reputation. God knows the most about this money and where he got it from. I would like to thank your magazine for its objectivity, and this imposes on you the

responsibility of going about all areas of the Republic of Tunisia and speaking with the citizens in total freedom.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Don't you have documents on the subject of Mzali's money?

Rachid Sfar: What documents? The Tunisian people are wondering where he got this money from.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: If he is tried, for example, we must present the judiciary with documents to find him guilty.

Rachid Sfar: This is a matter for the courts. The courts have dossiers and review them. I do not want to talk about a case which is before the judiciary. The judiciary here functions in total freedom, with no interference from the authorities.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Fine. Let us move over to the elections, the prominent event in your milieu these days. Do these elections, with their results, the Destourian Party's acquisition of all the seats, and the opposition's acquisition of approximately 2 percent of the votes of the voters -- does what happened represent the aspirations of the Tunisian people and their political orientations?

Rachid Sfar: When we ventured on the elections, it was apparent that the overwhelming majority of the Tunisian people of various classes sided with the Destourian Party. There are other parties, which constitute a minority, that did not all participate in the elections. Their avoidance of the elections is an admission of their weakness and an attempt on their part to conceal this weakness, because this opposition gave the foreign press an impression that their weight was greater than their real magnitude. I might add that the decisive decisions President Habib Bourguiba took in the last months of 1986 played a great part in reducing the role of the opposition -- an opposition which did not offer the Tunisian voters programs in the place of those the Destourian Party had set out. What is the alternative the opposition offered to the Tunisian citizens? The Tunisian citizens are upright and aware and act in accordance with the Tunisian popular saying, "Don't replace something with something else before you are sure about it." You can ask the opposition about its alternative program.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Let us assume that the opposition has been negligent as far as its duty is concerned. Do you believe, though, that it just accounts for 2 percent, as the recent elections showed? Is that its real magnitude?

Rachid Sfar: If it had been more active and had prepared itself better, it could have got a higher percentage than what it did get. However, nothing in the general actual situation has changed. Eighty percent of the people cast their votes and elected these lists voluntarily out of belief and will and perhaps if the opposition had participated in a concentrated manner the receptivity to the general elections would have been greater. Perhaps the votes the Socialist Party received would have been greater too.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: But the opposition says that although the elections occurred in an atmosphere of legality, what happened some months before the elections

could be labelled "a preventive attack" on the part of the authorities. This took the form of preventing opposition newspapers from appearing. It took the form of seizing the opportunity of demonstrations to take Ahmed Mestiri to trial and prison. It took the form of some types of harrassment. This "preventive attack" prevented the opposition from converging on the elections more extensively and taking part in them in a proper manner!

Rachid Sfar: All this, if it happened, took place before the formation of the current cabinet. Since the appointment of the new cabinet, none of what you have mentioned has taken place. We have not suspended any newspaper. To the contrary, the opposition newspapers managed to come out before the elections. Their suspension period, the reasons for which may be attributed to the previous cabinet, ended. More than that, we stated, upon the formation of the new cabinet, that it would be the government of all the Tunisians, and that statement has been recorded and written down. Then, afterward, we stated, in the words of the minister of the interior and the prime minster, under the direction of the president, that the cabinet was concerned with the legislative elections and with respect for the law at all stages of the elections. We then hosted the Society of Human Rights and talked about that subject, and again asserted our concern over the application of the law. The society asked if it could play any part, and we replied that the role of oversight was open to it and even to the foreign press. I believe that you observed the concentrated presence of the foreign press and its total freedom of movement on Tunisian territory during the period of the elections. We received all the opposition parties which asked to meet with us, and we asserted to them our concern, again, that the law be applied. And this is what happened.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: I am not arguing about the issue of the application of the law.

Rachid Sfar: This is not mere talk. This is solid talk. Anyone, Tunisian or foreign, can investigate it and establish it.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Wouldn't it have been better for this democratic experiment you are embarking on had the recent elections brought 10 or 20 deputies from the opposition to the new assembly?

Rachid Sfar: How do you want me to give out seats?

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Don't you believe that the opposition represents about 20 percent of the Tunisian people, at the lowest estimate?

Rachid Sfar: In its current form, with its failure to act and offer practical programs that have credibility, and in its failure to engage in responsible conduct, it cannot obtain such a percentage. The opposition must have behavior which attracts the base. We offer it advice. For example, when we presented our new economic and reform program, if the opposition had taken it and dealt with it, and had it supported some of it at least, and criticized some of it or recommended alternative solutions, it would perhaps have gained greater credibility and gained a base, formed a base for itself. How do you imagine we can give seats to this opposition? How do you imagine that

such an opposition can gain credibility on the scene at a time when it has not offered any practical solutions the Tunisian citizen can accept?

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Let us now move over to the main subject. As far as your excellency is concerned, it is well known that you are one of the most distinguished economic experts in Tunisia. Could we talk a little about the Tunisian economy?

Rachid Sfar: We can, of course. I can assert to you that if the brothers in the opposition had followed this advice, they would have had better results.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Let us go back to the economic situation. There are domestic and other foreign factors which have led to the difficult economic situation Tunisia is going through. The story on oil and labor -- how do you view the solution?

Rachid Sfar: Oil is not a story. It is a bitter fact. To us in Tunisia the word story means that different things exist, or imaginary things.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: To us in Lebanon and the East the word story does not mean different things, but rather the existence of a certain problem.

Rachid Sfar: Let us try to correct things. We in Tunisia have the oil issue.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: And you also have the issue of the drop in the incomes of Tunisian workers abroad, the drop in agricultural production because of the shortage of rain, the drop in tourist revenues, and so forth.

Rachid Sfar: In 1985 we sold oil for \$35 a barrel, and it dropped to \$18, then \$9 a barrel. That is an important occurrence. We have lost half the revenues derived from exporting oil, which finance 20 percent of budget revenues and 25 percent of annual hard currency revenues. Therefore, the new prices have dropped to half. Moreover, in conjunction with this drop, revenues from tourist activity in hard currency have also diminished, and have been much less than in 1985. The savings of workers working abroad have also diminished. The fourth element, as you said, is the drop in grain production because of the shortage of rain.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: What projects do you have for putting the economy back to rights?

Rachid Sfar: These elements combined have had a negative effect as far as the budget is concerned. The old cabinet ought to have acted starting with the beginning of 1986 and taken the necessary measures. Movement was slow, but, thank God, in August we took action when we submitted our reform program, which contains urgent measures for remedying this deficiency, to the chamber of deputies. These urgent measures were in two directions: pressure on expenditures and the creation of additional revenues.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: The additional revenues suddenly dropped by \$400 million. How did this development come about?

Rachid Sfar: Because Tunisia has a good reputation, and the program I presented is an objective, well studied one. We managed to mobilize traditional foreign resources and domestic ones as well in a short, quick period.

However, the issue of revenues is part of the reform program. The reform program includes structural reforms in foreign trade, tax collecting and price policy. It is a new economic policy and is able to cope with the situation which has cropped up. The Tunisian economic structure stresses this -- what we here call "the post-oil era," because we have considered that oil is ephemeral. It is not just an issue of a drop in prices but also an issue of a commodity, and perhaps new discoveries may not manifest themselves. Tunisia will then find itself an oil-importing country around 1990, and at that moment Tunisia will lose the hard currency revenues it previously received during the period of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties from the export of modest amounts of oil which played their part in increasing hard currency revenues and contributed to development in Tunisia, starting with the seventies.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Let us go back to political matters. The Society of Moslem Brothers says that there has been harrassment of them. My question is not why this harrassment exists; rather, don't you believe that harrassment of the moderate Islamic Tendency will result in strengthening the currents which rely on violence?

Rachid Sfar: All Tunisians are Moslems, and it is not appropriate for us to talk against Islamic currents in Tunisia. Every Tunisian, and I am talking from the depths of my feeling, is a Moslem, and the Tunisians' belief in Islam is stronger than you imagine. That is something our Arab brothers must realize, that there is no one whose faith in Islam is stronger than the Tunisians' faith in Islam. Likewise, there is no regime which defends Islam like the Bourguiba regime. The Bourguiba regime defended Islam before independence and built Islam in the period of the construction of the modern country. That is something we must assert as a rule. It is not apropos to talk about Islamic tendencies in Tunisia. What else is there, then? What remains is that we in this regime are not prepared to subject the country to any threat coming from religious extremists who have imported religious conceptions that are alien to Tunisia and alien to the proper Islam and seek to use violence, criminality and so forth.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: And the people who reject violence, such as the Islamic Tendency Movement, and its leaders, such as Ghannouchi -- what is your position on all this?

Rachid Sfar: Every Tunisian expresses his will in word and deed that he is sincere regarding his belief in Islam. The sound faith in Islam is not afraid of anything in Tunisia. However, for there to be people who want to use religious extremism to assault Tunisia and commit crimes against Tunisia -- the regime is not prepared to allow them that.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: What is your government's position on the Islamic Tendency under the leadership of Sheikh Mourou and Ghannouchi? Are you thinking of giving them legitimate status as a party?

Rachid Sfar: Doing what?

AL-MUSTAQBAL: The Islamic Tendency, whose name is the Islamic Tendency Movement, which is led by Mourou and Ghannouchi.

Rachid Sfar: On what basis?

AL-MUSTAQBAL: As a political party.

Rachid Sfar: If they stick to their program and their true conceptions, that is something that is viable. If they want to defend Khomeyni's conceptions, that is not reasonable.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: But they are very distant from Khomeyni's conceptions!

Rachid Sfar: They must prove that.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Their statements and actions show that they are opposed to violence.

Rachid Sfar: But they have said things which go against that statement.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: They are not concerned with "holy war" and "repudiation and renunciation," though.

Rachid Sfar: Let them prove that. We unfortunately judge actual things. When someone is responsible for the fate of a nation and the fate of a country, it is no longer a matter of sugary talk. For me to engage in sugary talk with a gracious colleague whose intentions are good and for me to harbor enmity, threats and the commission of crimes against my country within -- any Tunisian who harbors the commission of crimes against Tunisia, I am not prepared to allow him this. Every Tunisian whose intentions are good and is zealous of serving his country in the context of respect for constitutional legitimacy and respect for the gains Tunisia has made is welcome.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: There is a request which was submitted some months ago by the the progressive socialist group headed by Chabi. They took part in the elections under the People's Unity lists and took part with the intention of acquiring legitimate status. Does a tendency exist on the part of the government to give them such status?

Rachid Sfar: Everyone who has a judiciary record -- as long as such a judiciary record exists, it is not possible to give him legitimate political status.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: But they, as a party and group, previously submitted a request. Some of them were on the list of candidates.

Rachid Sfar: You must know that as far as the legislative elections go, it is not assumed that the candidate must have a recognized party in order to run as a candidate in the legislative elections. Greater freedom exists in the legislative elections. The recognized parties may offer nominations and

any Tunisian citizen who belongs to a group of citizens can run as a candidate in the elections. We have lists which include independent people.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Fine, but these people want to be given permission for political activity. Do you have the intention to give them such legitimate status?

Rachid Sfar: I do not have files on every Tunisian. If someone has files which infringe on the judiciary, the election law will not allow him to run as a candidate in the elections. It appears that this list (the socialists) contains some people who have what we call judiciary records. That is, Tunisian justice has said its say about them.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: With respect to the General Federation of Labor, two forces have become united, the General Federation and what are called the "men of honor." What are known as "the legitimate ones" remain outside this union. At present mediation is underway to unify the forces of the General Federation of Labor. What is your government's position on these acts of mediation and on the restoration of the unity of the General Federation of Labor?

Rachid Sfar: We had imagined that the nationalists had become united and that the General Federation consisted of nationalists and legitimate union men. I do not understand your question. You are now breaking the union people down into legitimate and non-legitimate union personnel.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: We ourselves are not the ones who are making the categorization. As far as the union personnel go, there are the National Federation of Labor, the "men of honor" and "the legitimate ones" under the leadership of Habib Achour, who is now in prison.

Rachid Sfar: Who are these "legitimate ones?"

AL-MUSTAQBAL: They are called "legitimate ones;" I am not the person who is applying this name. At present mediation is underway to unify the union body in Tunisia. Union unity between the National Federation and the honorable ones has not succeeded at the base level, and there still are disputes in these bases.

Rachid Sfar: Unification has taken place in the national framework and it will be completed at the base level in a few weeks. As far as we are concerned, the issue of the federation has been resolved. They have an upcoming conference which will clarify all matters.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Let us simplify things. What is your position, then, on the Habib Achour group?

Rachid Sfar: Let them bear their responsibility before God and before history regarding the country, because, as I believe, they have done much damage in the country.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: What type of damage?

Rachid Sfar: The exaggerated demands caused damage for many years, and their influence is still in effect. All intelligent people know this.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: What is your position on the attempts to release Habib Achour for health reasons and because of his advanced age?

Rachid Sfar: Habib Achour is now a citizen like all others. In this respect, the law protects him and is applied to him at the same time. From the standpoint of health, successful medical organizations exist in Tunisia which are responsible for this. However, that does not keep the law from being applied to every Tunisian as far as protection and punishment are concerned, especially if there have been mistakes.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: With respect to Arab relations, you made a visit to Algeria and succeeded in eliminating some misunderstanding in relations between the two countries.

Rachid Sfar: There never was a misunderstanding between us and the fraternal country of Algeria. We made a visit which is almost routine. It is well known that the exchange of visits among us is something which is becoming a part of tradition. It was an occasion in which we talked about all subjects which are of concern to the two countries.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: It was said, for example, that some forms of harrassment on the borders exists, in addition to problems between technical departments some of which can be attributed to the difficult economic circumstances in the two countries.

Rachid Sfar: That is not true.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: At all?

Rachid Sfar: It is not true. Where do you get this sort of news?

AL-MUSTAQBAL: In your opinion, no kind of problem is in being?

Rachid Sfar: No, not at all.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: With respect to relations with Libya, discussions exist for settling the financial disputes between you and Libya. Where have these discussions gone?

Rachid Sfar: They are ongoing. Discussions with respect to Tunisia's air entitlements began, and part of them have ended. A discussion has started on the entitlements due to our workers who were expelled. There was an initial meeting which was followed by a second one, and an agreement was signed with respect to ways for reviewing the files of Tunisian workers to whom entitlements are due.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Are these contacts still going on?

Rachid Sfar: There is an upcoming meeting at the beginning of December.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: At what level will the meeting be -- at a level of financial experts or politicians?

Rachid Sfar: Experts. Government employees.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Will it then be possible to talk about good political relations or not?

Rachid Sfar: We hope that the problems between us will end.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: I have two questions on general politics. There is in reality an American-French struggle over Tunisia, and there is Algerian-Libyan competition over Tunisia. This leads to problems. What is your view about that?

Rachid Sfar: I believe that a fantasy exists to a large extent among people who allow themselves such imaginings. The constant element is that Tunisia is strong in its people and these people's passion for their country's interests. Tunisia is strong in the solidity of its policy, the stability of its regime and the continuity of its domestic and foreign policy. This policy keeps Tunisia from being an object of the designs of any party. Tunisia cooperates most truthfully and clearly with whomever it wants, on the basis of respect for its complete sovereignty. If there is a country with strong sovereignty which cooperates on an equal basis with all parties, whatever their size might be, it is Tunisia.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: You have given me permission to question you frankly?

Rachid Sfar: I will answer you frankly.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: There is a report that has been put out by one of the most prominent experts on North Africa in the United States of America. The report states, with respect to Tunisia, that if it continues the way it is, it will be headed toward "Lebanization" or the Palestinian road. What is your view of that analysis?

Rachid Sfar: Let us let these people bear their own responsibility for their analyses. They are people who have to submit articles and analyses, and they try to categorize every country in the world. The people of Tunisia and Tunisia's Bourguibist regime will prove today and tomorrow that all these predictions are biased.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Stability will be sustained in Tunisia?

Rachid Sfar: Of course.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: The reports are biased predictions?

Rachid Sfar: The proponents of the analyses long for and hope for some of the things they contain and Tunisia's stability causes some people anxiety.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: In our first meeting with your excellency, I would like to add some questions. When you assumed the premiership, a diplomat described you as "an independent man who has known how to keep a distance from the 'war of the succession' and from alliances which bring people together and set them apart. He has chosen to preserve his image as a nationalistic personality specializing in economic affairs." What is your opinion of this definition?

Rachid Sfar: For heaven's sake, I do not want to pass judgment on myself. I leave the judgment to colleagues and the freedom to judge people to the public.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: The importance of this statement is that it is restricted to the framework of the "war of succession." What is your opinion of this definition?

Rachid Sfar: I believe that it is immoral to talk about this subject. We have learned that the basic job is to perform one's duty. The talk about the subject of the succession is in my opinion immoral as far as the Bourguiba regime goes and the people who have done their apprenticeship at Bourguiba's hands want to remain faithful to this man.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Not to infringe on President Bourguiba's sovereignty, a fact nonetheless exist, and the fact might be the antithesis of morality. We are not infringing the president's sovereignty at all.

Rachid Sfar: We do not give any of this value. There are people who have aspirations. No one deprives the human spirit of aspirations.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: To this description, an educated member of the opposition has added that "Sfar's independence is a point of strength and of weakness for him. It is a point of strength because it keeps him above personal forms of rancor. The weakness is due to the presence of strong alliances which consider that the succession is a right, and this is what will prompt them to appoint you for a temporary period, on grounds Tunisia needs an economic expert at this stage." What is your opinion on this analysis?

Rachid Sfar: No comment as far as this type of analysis goes. First of all, I leave the responsibility for it to the people who propound it. They are free as far as evaluating it goes. Moreover, I do not give it value, because these issues must not divert me. I consider that the important responsibility is to be devoted to the preoccupations of Tunisia and the Tunisian citizens and to look into what we can do on the Arab stage and on the stage of the region and the positive actions we can carry out for the peoples of the region and our people. That is the basis. If such action causes us to enjoy the confidence of the president and the citizens, that is to the good. If we cannot advance, the president and the citizens will judge us. This sort of issue does not divert us as we cooperate and work, and my feeling is that a governmental team surrounds me which is working with the utmost enthusiasm and seriousness.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: So you are not concerned with the other struggles that are going on?

Rachid Sfar: They make me laugh. If there are struggles they make me laugh; they will not divert me.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Fine. What most recent book have you read?

Rachid Sfar: The most recent book I have been reading is about President Bourguiba.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: What is the most important book you have read which is still fixed in your mind?

Rachid Sfar: An embarrassing question!

AL-MUSTAQBAL: This is a question I ask of all the figures I interview for the first time!

Rachid Sfar: I have read much, and now unfortunately my preoccupations are numerous. I am very devoted to reading. Every book I read has its level, and I find things in it that I might respond to. However, there is no book that has influenced me. There is no single book that has influenced me, but I find things I like in every book. I carry on a struggle with the book.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Aside from President Bourguiba, what figure has attracted your attention in history, in the past and in modern times?

Rachid Sfar: Ibn Khaldun. His Muqaddima is still vivid.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Do you believe in the transformations which befall countries, tribes and so forth?

Rachid Sfar: I do not agree with him as far as everything he says goes. As far as the analysis of history and the philosophy of history go, we consider Ibn Khaldun a giant of thought on this subject.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Among the historical men of politics?

Rachid Sfar: By God, I find from the political standpoint that Churchill, in his thinking and his positions, inspires awe and respect.

AL-MUSTAQBAL: Thank you, Mr prime minister!

11887

CSO: 4504/64

IRAQ

MODERN TELEPHONE SERVICES FOR BABIL GOVERNORATE

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 28 Nov 86 p 5

[Article by 'Ayid Muhammad Mansur: "Babil Governorate Is Receiving Its Share of Advanced Telephone Services"]

[Text] With the rise in the victories and heroic battles the people of Iraq are tracing out every day against the covetous invaders, the process of construction is continuing and the masses' self-sacrifices are rising on high, proceeding from the principle of the sense of national and domestic responsibility and loyalty to the soil of this beloved nation and the symbol of its glory and loftiness, the fighting president Saddam Husayn.

The Governorate of Babil, like all the other governorates of the country, has witnessed distinctive activity and relentless work in performance of the construction and service projects which have been aimed at offering the best of services to the citizens.

In this meeting, we are shedding light on what has been performed in the years of the war in the area of telephone services. AL-THAWRAH met with Mr Hifzi 'Abd-al-Latif, deputy director of telegraph and telephones for Babil, who said, "Telephone services have started to constitute a manifestation of civilization which indicates the state of resurgence and progress that every society in the world is going through today, in addition to their relationship to the daily life of people and their contribution to shortening the factor of time in carrying out many tasks and responsibilities.

"Proceeding from this premise, a modern electronic exchange with a capacity of 10,000 telephone lines has been built and put into operation in the al-Iskandariyah District along with the ground cable system attached to it, with a capacity of 6,500 lines, and operation of an urban exchange with a capacity of 4,000 lines along with a ground cable system of a capacity of 6,000 lines.

"In addition, five modern rural exchanges have been installed in the Districts of al-Mahawil and al-Hashimiyah and the Subdistricts of al-Qasim, al-Kifl and al-Midhatiyah, with a capacity of 1,000 telephone lines per exchange, and they have been included in the microwave project. A modern

exchange has been installed in the al-Tali'ah Subdistrict with a capacity of 200 telephone lines and telephone service to the other districts and subdistricts of the governorate has also been improved."

He pointed out that in carrying out their activities, especially those connected to the extension of the system of cables and maintenance of the old ones in the governorate's districts and subdistricts, the department's agencies have relied on the method of direct construction and people's work campaigns.

In the area of coverage of villages and rural areas with telephone service, an exchange with a capacity of 100 telephone lines has been installed which can be increased to 200 lines in the village of Birmanah, 30 telephone lines have been linked directly to the village of al-Wardiyah and it is hoped that a start will be made soon on laying 100 new lines to this village to cover citizens' requirements for telephone service.

Work is now being enhanced to install a modern urban exchange with a capacity of 10,000 telephone lines in the center of the city of al-Hillah preparatory to the inception of its operation in the first half of the coming year to meet the population expansions' needs for telephone services and to extend a ground cable system attached to this exchange to all sections which will be covered by this vital facility.

The deputy director of telegraph and telephones for Babil, at the conclusion of his conversation, promised the president and commander, in the name of the people belonging to the department, to continue self-exertion and sacrifice to offer the most extensive services to citizens and to view self-sacrifice lightly for the construction of Iraq and defense of the great principles and gains which the glorious 17-30 July revolution has realized through its historic course.

11887
CSO: 4404/129

ISRAEL

HERZOG VISIT TO SINGAPORE ANGERS MALAYSIA

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 20 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Greer Fay Cashman]

[Text]

SINGAPORE. - Malaysia will review its ties with Singapore following public protests over the visit here by President Chaim Herzog, the Singapore newspaper *The Straits Times* reported yesterday. Malaysia has officially informed Singapore of its deep regret over the republic's "provocative" action in extending an invitation to Herzog.

Herzog, who arrived here on Tuesday for a three-day visit, rebuked Malaysia and Indonesia yesterday for attacking Singapore, saying that they were out of date. He advised them not to interfere in a matter that did not concern them.

Kuala Lumpur and Jakarta have assailed Singapore's alleged lack of sensitivity towards its Moslem neighbours, terming Singapore's action provocative.

Approximately 200 demonstrators under the banner of the People's Action Committee representing 30 political parties and social organizations gathered in front of the Singapore High Commission in Kuala Lumpur to protest against the Herzog visit. The demonstrators accused Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of being a Zionist agent.

Indonesia recalled her ambassador on the day of Herzog's arrival.

Herzog told a press conference that the visit of a head of state of one sovereign country to another was "the business of those countries and those countries exclusively."

He stressed there was no conflict between Jews and Moslems. Visits by Israeli leaders to Arab countries such as Morocco and Egypt had caused no such fuss in the Middle East, he said, and added: "Frankly, I'm at a loss... I have a feeling that some people are out of date in this part of the world."

Malaysia and Indonesia said the visit could disrupt the unity of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (Asean), an economic and political alliance comprising Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore and Brunei.

Hundreds of Malaysians on Tuesday tried to stop a "peace run" across the causeway linking Singapore and Malaysia in protest against Herzog's visit.

Herzog was originally due to visit the Philippines before travelling to Singapore, but his trip was cancelled at the last moment because of the current unrest in Manila.

Singapore tightened security to an extent that surprised even Herzog's entourage, used to intensive security measures. Members of Herzog's party are searched at all the Herzog functions they attend. Special identity tags afford no immunity. A special female bodyguard has been assigned to Mrs. Herzog.

Herzog told the press that he has been tremendously impressed by Singapore's economic development. Israel has much to learn from this island republic, he said.

The most significant example which Singapore has set for Israel is the cutting of bureaucratic red tape for potential overseas investors, who instead of being shunted from office to office as they are in Israel, deal only with one person.

Herzog was reluctant to comment on his talks with Lee Kuan Yew. He said that he had no objections to his host divulging the nature of their discussions, "but I don't feel free to reveal what took part."

Herzog, who described Lee Kuan Yew as "the Ben-Gurion of Singapore" found him to be extremely well-informed about Israel. The premier told Herzog that he had learned a lot from Israel and in the building up of Singapore, had not repeated Israel's development errors.

Herzog heads for home today and is due to arrive early tomorrow morning.

In Jerusalem it was reported yesterday that MK Pinhas Goldstein wants the Knesset to debate all the arrangements surrounding the president's visit to the Far East. What happened in Singapore and the last-minute cancellation of the visit to the Philippines does not redound to the credit of the office of the presidency or the state, Goldstein told *The Jerusalem Post* last night.

Goldstein, a Likud-Liberal, scored the way the president's visit was organized. "It's a matter of timing and location. Perhaps he shouldn't have gone to the countries chosen just at this time. The treatment meted out to him shames him and us," Goldstein said.

/6091

CSO: 4400/77

ISRAEL

ORI OR, FORMER NORTHERN COMMANDER, PROFILED

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 6 Jun 86 p 38

[Article by Hayim Revia: "It Depends on a Political Decision"]

[Text] On 10 June, at 11 am, Ori Or was to transfer the Northern Command to Major General Yosi Peled. This is the anniversary of the withdrawal from Lebanon, to the extent that it has been done. Or selected the date in a recent conversation with Yitzhaq Rabin. His choice of the date was no accident. He wants to be remembered as the major general who extricated the IDF from the Lebanese quagmire. From 10 June on he was to go into a waiting period which was to end about 6 months later with the selection of the next chief of staff. Or, 46, makes no secret of his desire to replace Moshe Levi, but in private conversations voices doubts where he is going to be selected. He knows that as a soldier he has achieved his summit. From now on the decision on his military future is primarily political.

Several years ago he said he would prefer to end his career as commander of the Northern Command rather than as deputy chief of staff. A number two position was never favored by him. For the most part he never had to face it. In most of his appointments he was number one. Now his name is mentioned along with that of Amir Drori as a candidate to replace Dan Shomron as deputy chief of staff. Another possibility: Or will replace Drori as commander of the Field Command. It is rumored that he has already turned down this offer.

If he is not appointed to one of the three positions, chief of staff, deputy chief of staff, or commander of the Field Command, he will leave the IDF, and return, as some have heard him say, to agriculture. The IDF will then lose one of its most prominent fighters. Even Rafal, who is anything but generous with praises, complimented him on his performance during the Yom Kippur War. Rafal was then division commander, Or was brigade commander. "Yanush is a sophisticated fighter, brave, and possesses unusual professional skills," he wrote in his book regarding his favorite officer. "But it is possible that personally Ori Or is braver than Yanush. Yanush commanded a well-formed and orderly brigade; Ori's brigade consisted of reservists, men from all over. He headed, with his brigade, directly from the reserves store unit to the battlefield. Anyone who could, took a vehicle and drove to the front, only to be shot at. Ori was the ultimate individual example in this war."

He was born in 1939, in the village of Ma'as, near Petah Tikva. His family had a farm. When he was in the 1st grade they moved to Kfar Hayim in the Hefer Valley, where they found a larger farm. Or was exposed to basic values. Zionism, mission, moral values, personal example are mentioned by him without quotation marks. "My father did not come to Israel so that I could be a weapons dealer," he said not long ago. "I don't look too favorably on senior officers who do business with weapons. It is not good for our image and for that of the IDF." At a teenager he was member of the Working Youth Movement and was an instructor in new immigrant settlements. Later he was in charge of instruction in the Moshav Movement. When it was time for him to enlist, in 1957, he wanted to join the infantry. The IDF determined that he should go to an armor unit. "They decided to raise the standard of the Armor Corps," he once said. In 1965 he served as a tank company commander and participated in battles for water in the north: the B'not Ya'akov Bridge, Nuheyla, Korzim. Those who know him say that those days as company commander had a profound influence on him to this day. Even now he pays a lot of attention to groom the lower officer echelon. "Perhaps we were more naive," he said. "Some of today's youths have no idol, but they don't have any road signs either. The military leadership has to deal with that and prepare better commanders. When I was company commander and had no transportation, I managed. Today comparisons are made. The problem is with what mission is all about in this country...It is possible to have a lot of influence on a young man in the 3 years of service, so later on he does not travel all over the world. One has to deal more with basics." When the supreme command hosted Prime Minister Peres, Or chose to speak about problems of motivation, career service and mission, not about cutbacks.

Soldiers like him. He does not maintain his distance. He does not require that they salute him or that they refer to him as "Major General." He is very direct and willing to listen. He once visited a post on the eastern front of Lebanon and left with a directive to locate 30 pairs of socks. His critics say that these are good qualities for a company or battalion commander. As a major general they expect him to focus on other issues.

In the 6 Day War he commanded a reconnaissance company of the 7th Brigade. He was later to describe it as a large family. The company led Major General Tal's division to the depths of the Sinai. Prior to that they participated in the battle for the Rafah Junction, the opening battle of the war. Or, who was then 28, lead the reconnaissance staff which included two Patton tanks, three half tracks and four jeeps. The division commander, Shmu'el Gonen (Gorodish) instructed that if they found that the junction had been vacated, as he was inclined to think it would be, they should continue to Shaykh Zawid, 12 km to the south. The junction had not been vacated. There was a battery of anti-tank cannons hidden behind trees and cacti. There were also T-34 tanks, Egyptian infantry, and mine fields.

Shabtay Tevet writes in "Exposed in the Turret": "A concentrated and accurate shelling of Egyptian artillery then started. At that moment Or, the company commander, noticed two T-34 tanks which had emerged from their hiding as if they had been shot from the earth. Commander of the first patton, Tzviqa,

demolished both of them with two successive cannon shots at a range of 200 m. The fire intensified. Captain Ori could not see the end of the tunnel from which they were firing and he understood that he was trapped or ambushed. He estimated that the junction was guarded by a company with a typical Soviet formation. He could not retreat. Until he could reach the road, with the mine field on either side, he would be a convenient, static target. The only way to emerge alive, he thought, was to enter the fatal trap and destroy it from within." When the battle on the first post on the junction was over the reconnaissance company had one half track, two jeeps, and half the men. Nine soldiers had been killed, nine others were wounded. At the end of the war the company received a letter of appreciation from Gorodish.

At the Karmah raid, Or was intelligence chief of the 7th Brigade. This is one of the two staff positions he has held during his career. This is now a disadvantage for him. During the War of Attrition he was battalion commander in the 7th Brigade. Hayim Erez, today a major general and quartermaster general, was then his deputy. With the exception of the days of restraint of the Yom Kippur War and the War of Attrition, this was for him the most difficult period. Later, and after he was in charge of the Armor Officers' School, he spent a year in Fort Knox, in the United States, for an advanced course for the armor forces. About one and a half months before October 1973 he assumed command of a reserve brigade. This was a new brigade consisting of yeshiva students and former NAHAL members. Its Centurion tanks were the last ones that the IDF had which were still fueled by gasoline rather than diesel. Their engines were prone to constant problems. On the morning of 7 October Or left for the Golan heading a convoy of 20 tanks. They were engaged in Nafah and south of Qunaytirah. His area stretched from the Oil Axis to 'Ayn Ziwan. "His men were as shell-shocked," wrote Hertzog in "The War of the Day of Judgment." "A few hours earlier they were still in their homes, leading their routine civilian lives, and all of a sudden they were thrust right in the middle of the battle. They were not mentally prepared for the drastic change and Ori had a problem of enforcing discipline and leadership over his men." Several years later Or said that this was when he first felt lonely.

The brigade lost 13 tanks on the first day. Two battalion commanders were wounded and many of the company officers were either dead or wounded. The next day Or came under the command of Lener's division and participated in the breakthrough battle in Khan Arnabah. "This was a very complicated business," tells Major General (reserves) Lener. "Ori led his force. A battle is always chaos; this one was particularly chaotic. He conducted everything with unusual coolness, as if he were detached from it all. No excitement could be seen on him, or, God forbid, hysteria. This was not true about every commander during the Yom Kippur War." Even Or's critics admit that. Under fire, or with an Arab mob throwing rocks at him, as happened following Alan Goldman's shooting at the Western Wall, Or is as cool as if he is on the beach on a summer day.

On Friday, 12 October, his brigade encountered an Iraqi force of the 3d armored division. The battle took place at ranges of 300 m. Seventeen Iraqi tanks were hit and the attack was foiled. On 13 October the brigade

participated in the famous ambush that Lener's division set up for the Iraqi forces. "There were no problems with his battalion," recalls Lener. "Whatever they were charged with was accomplished, at least partially. In the Yom Kippur War this was no mean task."

After the war Raful recommended Or and Yanush for a citation. The response was that senior officers do not receive citations. At the end of 1982, as chief of staff, he was the first one to promise Or the Northern Command. Or, who was then commander of the Central Command, showed loyalty to his commander, even though he did not like some of Raful's rough ways. The Yom Kippur War forged a mutual respect between the two.

He was head of the reserve battalion for 8 months and later replaced Yanush as commander of the 7th Brigade. To date he observes the memorial days for his battalion and annually meets with their families. Even as commander of the Northern Command he used to visit wounded soldiers and attend funerals. "A commander who cannot find time for funerals has no right to send his men to be killed," he is quoted as saying.

Or is described by his acquaintances as the antithesis of a bureaucrat, as one who has grown only within the combat route. He places no importance on red tape, order, or formality. In the job to which he now aspires this may also be a shortcoming. His subordinates throughout his career attest to the fact that they enjoyed almost complete freedom in their work. This could very well be a compliment in an army whose officers often like to be concerned with minor details. On the other hand this amount of freedom that he gives his staff arouses some criticism. Some claim that he does not interfere enough when it comes to correcting mistakes of his subordinates and that he does not go out of his way to work hard. A good staff officer, for him, is someone who does not bother him with problems. When he was formation commander it once happened that he heard about a certain exercise only when a superior officer arrived at the scene.

When he completed his assignment in the 7th Brigade he assumed command of the reserve division which had been under Dan Lener during the Yom Kippur War. He moved his family to the north, to Gadot. Proximity to his family is important for him. He is married to Ya'el and is the father of three: 'Amit, in the IDF; Ayelet, 12th grade; and Tamar, 11. Today he lives in Hofit. As commander of the Central Command, when he had a little bit more free time, he used to garden and read a lot. His passion for sleep is famous. Helicopter pilots who used to land near his home in the early morning hours always requested that he be on time because they were not allowed to cut off their engines. Or used to be asleep even when they tried to wake him up an hour earlier.

Most of his friends are civilians. Among them Rehav'am Ze'evi. His military friendships are more on a professional than personal level. Officers of the Central Command used to go out with him to a restaurant or to one of their homes every Thursday for a sing along.

The Litani Operation found Or at the head of a regular division in the north. He had replaced Amir Drori. The division took Marj 'Ayun, Rashial Fuhar and the northern corner along the Litani, the Hula, Shaqrah, almost all the way to Tyre. His next assignment: staff commander in the Central Command, with a promise by Rafal that he would shortly be promoted to major general and be appointed as commander of the Central Command. Except that this was when the then defense minister, 'Ezer Weizman, froze all promotions and Or remained staff commander for almost 2 years. This is the second and last staff position he has held. It gave him ample opportunity to get to know the commander of the Central Command, Moshe Levi, who later became chief of staff.

To this day Or is considered to be very close to Levi. As staff commander he was the number two man at the Central Command. His combat experience, so it is claimed, helped him a lot. Levi was comfortable in investigations and reconnaissance tours when he had an experienced officer accompanying him. Those close to Or maintain that if it were up to Levi he would like to see his staff commander replace him as chief of staff. Judging by previous appointments, it is not totally up to him.

In November 1981 he was promoted to major general and was appointed commander of the Central Command replacing Levi. His soldiers were now facing settlers, citizens, terrorists, and all sorts of demonstrators. Or had to navigate among them and prevent an explosion. He made it clear in very short order that he did not much relish this part of the job. "All told I don't feel right," he told 'Edna Pe'er in an interview on Ozen Qashevet. "I don't feel right because I work in a region which arouses public controversy, because I am in the midst of a conflict and because I know that my men are also involved in it. What do I yearn for? That my name not be mentioned in conjunction with Judea and Samaria. In other words, let there be quiet there. Let me be able to collect my forces and deal with more important things, such as prepare the army for a way which may start on the eastern front or even with Egypt, because I don't know what will happen to the peace treaty 1-2 years after the withdrawal from the Sinai. I would like to see the army facing another army rather than have to deal with civilians, Jews, or Arabs." That was the reason why he left most of the details to his staff commander.

He himself made a point of talking to any reserve battalion that arrived in Hebron. The frustration of serving in the territories was increasing at that time and many let him know their personal opinions. After the murder of Yehoshu'a Sloma Or said that "there is a confrontation here between two peoples on the Jordan region." Not everyone liked this reference to "two peoples" and considered it an open hint to his political opinions. He used to say to the reservists: "Whoever dons a uniform can voice his opinion, but from the minute a command is uttered he has to obey it and not utilize the army to jeopardize politics." Several months later he was to give the same lecture to soldiers in Lebanon.

Or joined the major general club at a time of an argument within the IDF about what was referred to as the Oranim Operation, the plan for the Lebanese War. It is claimed that he supported the limited option, Small Oranim. In his

opinion terrorism cannot be eliminated with one operation. He considered the war as a continued process of frustration. Some of his units were in Lebanon and for him it was the first time since 1965 that he was not in the heart of the battlefield. He took his Wagoneer, took Amnon Lifqin with him (the latter was then commander of a reserve division that did not participate in the war) and went for a tour in Lebanon among "his" units. He sat in on many meetings with Major General Amir Drori where plans were approved but was careful to not interfere.

The Eli Geva' affair left a heavy mark on him. Geva' was his protege when he was commander of the 7th Brigade and Or brought him in as brigade commander when he left it at the entrance to Beirut. Although he himself opposed entering the western part of the city, he could not reconcile himself to the fact that Geva' left before the most difficult part of the war. For a while he would not talk to him and sent him memos via his staff commander. When Geva left, Or went to talk to his men.

In November 1983, a week after the Tyre disaster, he replaced Amir Drori as commander of the Northern Command. Prior to that he went on vacation to England and Scotland. "I am overcome with horror and disgust when I see IDF soldiers spread out all over Lebanon," he is quoted to have told Eytan Haber in February 1985, following the government's decision for a phased withdrawal. "I will shed no tears when we leave Tyre. An 8 year old boy kills all the birds on the trees and you want me to be impressed with the scenery? When things balance out among the bugs, snakes, and scorpions they will turn against us."

Or opposed the phased withdrawal. He supported a complete withdrawal to the Litani River and said that the security zone cannot prevent Katyusha shelling.

As commander of the Northern Command he is careful to maintain contact with the settlements. Every other week he conducts a tour, listens to complaints, and tries to calm people down. "The reaction to terrorism is settlement," he says. When he retires, on 10 June, 150 council heads plan on a farewell party with Sarale Sharon. His possible promotion is bound to be discussed. In his favor, it should be said, that he is the only major general who has headed two commands in recent years. On the other hand he has had only two staff positions, he has not been deputy chief of staff, and Arens, when he was defense minister, did not promise him (unlike Shomron) that he would be appointed chief of staff. Rabin, as far as is known, has not promised anyone. If he picks Or, he will select a chief of staff who opposed the forming of the Field Command. Those close to Or say that in his opinion, the IDF's main problem is in the area of training the lower echelon. This is an area which has been addressed by the infantry, the Armor Corps, the Tank Corps, and the Engineering Corps. The establishment of the Field Command weakened them. Therefore, it is rumored, he will turn down an appointment of commander of the Field Command.

Or also opposed the cutbacks in the defense budget. "They want a small and mischievous army," he once said. "But they also want it to do everything all

at once. I don't think that the army is more important than the state. We have to see what will happen in my son's generation. We are reducing the army because of the economic problems. The day may come when we regret this decision."

He believes that after the Lebanese War, the establishment of the Field Command, and the budget cutbacks, the IDF now needs stability and hard work. "It is said that a shakedown is needed," he told Ya'ir 'Amiqam of YEDI'OT AHARONOT. "Today they have a serious one on their hands. Everything is in a state of flux in the IDF." It is commonly thought that if Rabin decides on a shakedown in the IDF, he will prefer Dan Shomron. It is safe to assume that the alternative to civilian life, will make Or change his mind and accept the number two position. And what if he is offered command of the Field Command? Even Amir Drori, its present commander, opposed its establishment.

8646/9599

CSO: 4423/117

ISRAEL

DETAILS OF ASSASSINATION OF MUSTAFA HAFIZ DISCLOSED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 12 Jun 86 p 19

[Article by Gil Qeysari: "The Book That Killed Gaza's Agent of Terror"]

[Text] On 11 July 1956 there was an explosion at the Egyptian intelligence office in Gaza in which Colonel Bikbashi Mustafa Hafiz was killed. In Israel people breathed in relief at reading the news, which was printed in an insignificant corner in the Egyptian press. There was heavy mourning within the Egyptian army and the Palestinian terrorist organizations.

Mustafa Hafiz was a feared person among citizens of southern Israel in the first half of the 1950's. His name represented then what that of Yasir Arafat means today. Defense sources and the media in Israel attributed to him more responsibility for bloodshed of Israeli citizens than to any other person. Hafiz, an Egyptian intelligence officer, was in charge of the Fedayun who infiltrated from the Gaza Strip and caused many fatalities among the Israeli population.

The Israeli version which was then publicized concerning his death was that he was the victim of Palestinian revenge. They were angry that he had sent their friends or relatives to Israel, where many were killed or apprehended by Israeli forces.

Today, 30 years after the affair, the truth can be told, for the first time.

In anticipation of Intelligence Day at the beginning of June, there was a speech made at the Center for Special Studies, located near the memorial for those of the intelligence community. The lecture was presented to several scores of high school students who are about to enlist in the IDF and plan on serving in the Intelligence Corps. The lecture detailed the methods whereby the Israeli intelligence services eliminated the Egyptian officer who was the effective ruler of the Gaza Strip, and who, at the age of only 34, was already a colonel.

The Egyptian press, which poured praises on him, claimed that 50,000 Fedayun were under his command. It was published that he organized raids which reached the outskirts of Tel Aviv, ambushes on the Tel Aviv to Ramle road and an attack on the Agriculture Institute in Shfar'am in which six people had

been killed. Following these raids, President Nasser came to Gaza to shake Hafiz's hand. He was considered a national hero.

It was decided in Israel that only his physical elimination would put an end to the terrorist wave of the Fedayun who were active primarily in the Gaza-Hebron axis (Hebron was then under Jordanian control).

Israel employed intelligence units whose members crossed the lines between Israel and the Gaza Strip. At one point the intelligence people concluded that something was wrong in one of those units. Suspicion arose that the man who was going back and forth between the Strip and Israel was, at best, a double agent, most likely planted by Hafiz. It was decided to put the man, Muhammad Sulayman al-Talaqah, to a serious test.

When he arrived in Israel for the sixth time, he was brought to his commanders in Israel. They used nicknames like "Sadiq," "Abu Salim" and "Abu Nisaf." They praised him for his work and gave him a special prize: a meeting with his uncle, a Negev Bedouin, who was drafted for Israeli intelligence but who later also turned out to be an Egyptian agent.

The family reunion took place in Beersheba. The two were shown into a room with two beds, so they could spend the night in complete privacy. It did not occur to them that hidden microphones picked up everything that they said. From their conversation it became clear beyond any reasonable doubt that the two were working for Hafiz.

Instead of jailing them it was decided to employ al-Talaqah in order to hit Mustafa Hafiz. The latter fully trusted his agent. On the next day al-Talaqah met again with "Sadiq," who complimented him and made all kinds of promises. "Up to now you were just being trained, this was a trial period. Now you will become a full fledged member of one of our units in the Strip. We will even promote you," he told him. "But first of all we must be sure that your source of information is indeed Mustafa Hafiz, with whom, you claim, you are very close."

Al-Talaqah explained: "I am employed there as a tea server and I am near Hafiz all the time so that I hear and see everything, and then report it to you." "Sadiq" pretended to be convinced with the explanation and went on.

He told al-Talaqah that from now on he was to work under a senior Israeli agent in the Strip, a police inspector in Gaza, Lutfi al-'Akawi (this was not true) and that he was to obey all of the latter's commands. "Your first job will be to hand to him a package which we will give you and a few days later return to us what he will give you."

"Sadiq" and his colleagues knew that the first thing al-Talaqah would do upon returning to Gaza would be to hand the package over to Hafiz. In order to increase al-Talaqah's trust even more it was explained to him that the package that he was about to deliver was an English book and that on page 354, on a certain line, there is a semi-colon under which a microfilm was to be

hidden. That microfilm was to contain questions to which al-'Akawi was to respond. "Rehearsals" were held with al-Talalqah in order to verify that he did not forget what he had to relate to al-'Akawi.

In the meantime a technical staff of the Intelligence Service prepared a mechanism containing 400 g of explosives, which was hidden in the space created when several pages of an identical book were torn out. The booby-trapped book was to explode the minute the wrapping was opened. It was handed to al-Talalqah who hid it in his underwear. At night he was driven to the border and "Sadiq" and his colleagues watched him enter the Egyptian post. Several minutes later he was driven from there in the Gaza direction.

Al-Talalqah did exactly as was expected of him by the Israelis: he rushed to Hafiz, told him what "Sadiq" and his colleagues had told him and gave him the book.

Hafiz instructed him to leave the room and he remained there with his deputy, Major Fathi Mahmud, who was to assume his job. The minute Hafiz opened the wrapping there was a tremendous explosion and both officers were fatally wounded. They died in the hospital a few hours later.

Al-Talalqah was also injured in the explosion and lost his eye sight. In his interrogation by the Egyptian Intelligence Service he managed to convince them that he had acted innocently and that it had never dawned on him what the contents of the book were.

In spite of the fact that the operation was very well-planned, its success is also attributed to luck. Israeli Intelligence was not aware of the fact that Hafiz had been in Cairo for vacation for 2 weeks prior to his promotion and transfer to another job. He had returned to Gaza on the very morning when al-Talalqah handed him the fatal book. One more element of luck, his replacement, Colonel Fathi Mahmud, was with him. Thus two enemies were eliminated simultaneously.

Following Hafiz's death Fedayun units ceased their activities in Israel. They were completely eliminated when Gaza was taken over by the IDF 3 months later during the Sinai Campaign.

8646/9599

CSO: 4423/117

ISRAEL

HISTORY OF LAND FRAUD SCANDAL IN TERRITORIES DESCRIBED

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (Supplement--7 Days) in Hebrew 12 Jun 86 pp 27-30

[Article by Nahma Do'aq: "Non-Virgin Soil"]

[Text] Shmu'el 'Eynav, the largest land dealer in Judea and Samaria, knows he will be murdered. "It may take a week, 2 weeks, a year. I am not destined to die a natural death." The terrorist organizations have sentenced him to death. The reason: his business of acquiring land in Judea and Samaria. Since 1972 he has purchased more than 80,000 dunums.

Today, according to 'Eynav, he has lost everything. He sold his car to pay his debts. His villa in Savyon was confiscated because of income tax and because of the company that claimed he defrauded it. According to 'Eynav, he is living on credit from friends and banks.

On a spectacular spring day 'Eynav took us to a small heavenly spot he acquired for the state--64,000 dunums in the Judean Desert. The route took them through a crowded Arab village. Frightening. We were accompanied by a young Arab man from whom the land had been acquired.

After a half hour trip we arrived at Mt Harbatah, east of Jerusalem. The top of the mountain was razed by the British, who were searching for oil. The view is breathtaking: The Dead Sea on one side, Jerusalem on the other. All around there are barren hills, with hardly any rainfall. Goats are munching on left over thorn bushes. There are several Bedouin tents. 'Eynav gets excited: "What a quality of life! Why shouldn't Jews come here? The Arabs have not cultivated this lands for centuries."

The major acquisition precipitated the first attempt on his life. It happened 10 years ago. Someone was waiting for him near the Flower Gate in Jerusalem and hit him on the head with a club. Several years later there was a second attempt. This time, too, he was miraculously spared.

The young Arab man from whom he had bought the land has been very careful ever since. So has 'Eynav. He says he never takes the same route when he goes to Judea and Samaria.

The whole affair became public, as may be recalled, about a year ago, following complaints of West Bank Arabs, especially Tulkarm, Qalqilyah, and Jerusalem. They claimed that their lands had been purchased fraudulently. According to them power of attorney documents had been forged, they had been beaten, their lives had been threatened. There were also complaints by Jews regarding speculators who had sold them lands to which they had no legal title.

The complaints opened a Pandora's box, the repercussions of which have reached the political echelon with allegations that people close to Likud had been bribed during the last elections.

There are still complaints of Jewish firms against 'Eynav. The complaints state that he promised them lands to which he has no title. These companies are demanding a refund of their money. 'Eynav, who claims he had paid the Arab villagers, says he has no funds. His trial is about to start soon. He is accused of bribing senior Likud officials.

The scene: the prestigious al-Banduri Restaurant in Ramallah. City officials are present. When 'Eynav enters they all rise and kiss him in turn. Yusuf 'Atallah, one of the dignitaries, asks how he is and invites him to join them at the table. A sumptuous meal with meats, pickles, fruits and vegetables, is served. A lovely restaurant, surrounded by petunias of all colors.

'Atallah says that 'Eynav is like a brother to him. Upon leaving the restaurant 'Eynav says that they were all ready to knife him in the back. The smiles are superficial. When 'Eynav offers to pick up the tab the Arab hosts are angry. He is their guest, albeit unwelcome.

'Eynav, 64, has been a land dealer for years, ever since the Alignment days with Galili, Moshe Dayan through Menahem Begin, Yitzhaq Shamir, David Levi and up to Michael Deqel, about whom he is very critical.

According to 'Eynav, he is a victim of the system. His methods are within accepted norms in these deals. As he himself explains, this includes bribery, the employment of straw men as intermediaries, illegal trade in foreign currency. All this is done, he claims, with the awareness of the authorities. He is convinced he will be vindicated of any wrongdoing.

The rules of the game include the death sentence against him, and against his people in Amman, too. After the two attempts on his life 'Eynav is actually more worried over the heart attack he had after the land scandal.

His personal history started in Russia, from where he immigrated at the age of 1. He is almost a native. His father was a Zionist, a Labor Party member. 'Eynav, who was active in the IRGUN and was imprisoned in Acre, is identified with Likud. "It is ideology which brought me to Likud: the settlement of all of the Land of Israel.

It was ideology, too, which caused him to start in the land business in 1972 and which prompted his partnership with Yehezqe'el Sahar, the first police chief who resigned amidst allegations of being connected with the 'Amos Ben-Gurion affair. Prior to that 'Eynav made his fortune with his brother, 'Azri'el 'Eynav, a millionaire meat dealer living in Switzerland. Together with Yosi Har'el, the Exodus commander, they imported meat, at first from Ethiopia, and then from other countries, as well.

Before his land deals he dealt for a short time with rabbits. Says 'Eynav: "I employed Arab women. Their job was to bring the males to the females for mating. Although we showed them movies and explained everything to them, they were too bashful and instead of 8-10 births per year, we only realized two. The women used to giggle when the males tried to mate with the females and I lost my shirt."

His land deals are a natural outcome of his concept of what is likely to happen in the territories. "Any future agreement with King Husayn or 'Arafat will have to take into account Jewish settlement in Judea and Samaria. I believe that land that has been purchased privately will meet with the king's approval. This will not apply to state confiscated lands. Those will have to be returned just the way they have been taken."

The redemption of the land, as 'Eynav calls his occupation, is also tied in with his view of coexistence with the Arabs. He supports a 2-nation state, even a federation with Jordan. He does not care if Husayn is president and Shim'on Peres prime minister. In his view, massive Jewish settlement on the West Bank will only support this. He quotes Moshe Dayan: "Let the Arabs look for Jewish prostitutes, let them do business with Jews. They will then realize we have no horns and everything will fall in place."

When he started acquiring land, in the early seventies, the Alignment was in power. Acquisition was then done strictly via the Israeli Land Authority or the Jewish National Fund (JNF). No private deals were allowed. The Land Authority was also employing other brokers. Says 'Eynav: "They could not afford to purchase the land directly. This was the policy. In these deals there is always the danger of ending up with neither land nor money. How can that be explained away to the State Comptroller? When it is acquired from a broker, it is the latter's responsibility. In all my dealings with the Israeli Land Authority they always received title to the land. If I could not have clear title, I refunded the money."

"It was a calculated risk for me. Since I was familiar with the procedures, I knew where to not take risks. I was also careful to acquire lands only within the framework of the Alon Plan or very close to the Green Line. I would locate pretty hill, about 300 dunums, the minimum necessary for the establishment of a settlement, then I would offer it to the Israeli Land Authority. Sometimes they would initiate the acquisition of a particular tract of land. Thus everything was simple and easy."

Private deals, beyond the Green Line, have undergone three major periods. The first one, as was mentioned, was during the Alignment's days in power. At that time only the state was allowed to deal in lands. Two years after Likud assumed power, in 1979, private deals became legal. Since the state was in charge of planning of settlements, all deals were made through the national authorities.

This was done until April 1982, the beginning of Michael Deqel's period. From that time on private entrepreneurs were also allowed to establish settlements. Experts claim that this is when the big wave started.

'Eynav: "Every Tom, Dick, and Harry thought they could make a lot of money. Everyone came here without knowing the rules of the game with the Arabs. The industry collapsed. Now (Pli'a Albeq), the woman in charge of the civilian section in the Justice Ministry, wants to set new rules and apply them retroactively. This is absurd."

Moshe Lifqe, a liberal party man, in charge of the Israeli Land Authority in recent years, refused to comment on his office's policy in the last 2 years.

'Eynav's largest acquisition took place in 1973. He then purchased 64,000 dunums in the Judean Desert for the Israeli Land Authority. To put things in proper proportions: the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem is less than 100 dunums in size.

This acquisition, according to him, was very complex and necessitated negotiations with 40 sheiks without anyone of them knowing of any of the others. There were 40 signatures and 40 signed statements. It took him 2 years. He bought the land for IL13 or about \$20 per dunum. Today prices are about \$2,000-\$5,000 per dunum.

At the end of the 2 years 'Eynav succeeded, with the help of Arab straw men, to have clear title to the whole tract. "When I brought the signed contract to Me'ir Zore'a (Zaru), who was then in charge of the Israeli Land Authority, he was so happy he cried."

The Jewish Federation is about to establish a settlement on that land. A major highway is also planned through there, which will connect Te'qo'a and Beyt She'an to Jerusalem.

(Pli'a Albeq) claims that 'Eynav did not really buy the land. According to her the land belonged to no one and was registered as barren land. The state then confiscated it legally. As early as 1973, says (Albeq), she wrote a letter detailing 'Eynav's fraudulent deals in conjunction with land acquisition in the Judean Desert. To date, according to her, he has not obtained legal title.

'Eynav feels at home among Arabs. This Ashkenazi Jew speaks Arabic like a native, fluently, including slang and swearing. "I also think in Arabic.

I only dream in Hebrew." The Arabs respect him. They call him Abu Muftah, after his son Yiftah.

'Eynav loves Judea and Samaria. "You have to be an Arab among the Arabs," he says. "I cannot work with them and behave as if I were in Switzerland. Work with them requires certain rules. Bribery, for example. For them it is a way of life. Any land deal is accompanied by bribing scores of people. Sometimes the amount spent on bribes exceeds the price of the land.

"I have bribed many Arabs in my time. Lawyers, judges, state employees, relatives of land sellers, everyone. The authorities knew all about it.

"For instance, when I show up to buy some land, I pay its owner. Later I need the signature of the village chief, I need to place a notice at the mosque and also to publish the fact in the paper, so that anyone who has any objection can come forth.

"Several days later scores of objections arrive. I begin to locate the objectors. I thus go to Muhammad and ask him why he opposes the deal. 'By God, Abu Muftah,' he says, 'I think the present owner owes me some money.' I immediately produce my wallet, give him a few hundred or so dinars, and close the deal.

"There were occasions when things ended up in a trial. I would then meet the opposing attorney, pay him off, and the case would then be tipped in my favor. This is the way it goes. I also make contributions to mosques and village councils, to maintain good relations."

'Eynav is a rather short man, with a firm stomach, blue eyes, talks fast, he is jumpy but there is some softness in his features. He is dressed casually, walks fast, loves archeology, and is an avid collector. He is obsessive in all that pertains to Judea and Samaria. Recently he had a heart attack. This happened when the investigation into frauds and bribes started.

"When it all came out, he says, it hurt my family. My son could not go to school. The papers reported that his father was a thief and a criminal. I was detained for 8 days. I sent him to the United States with my wife. I was accused of trying to run away. I was deeply hurt. I will never run away. My wife came back after 2 months. My son will return at the end of the school year and will then join the IDF."

'Eynav, as is well-known, is not the only one involved in the scandal. Other prominent names are those of Moshe Zer, Yitzhaq Banay, Ya'aqov 'Aqnin, Ahmad 'Awdah and the Gindi brothers. Moshe Zer, who lives in a fort on a high hill in Samaria, was convicted of participating in the Jewish underground. He was released because of ill health. Yitzhaq Banay's trial is underway. He is threatening to call Yitzhaq Shamir, Ariq Sharon, and Michael Deqel to the stand. Ya'aqov 'Aqnin, former chief of the Israeli Land Authority, and later 'Eynav's partner, was ordered to the police for an investigation. Two of the

Gindi brothers are in the United States. Avraham Gindi committed suicide this week.

As in similar cases of a conflict between norms and the law, those who are hurt consider themselves as scapegoats who have to pay the price which morally should be paid by their superiors. With typical naivete 'Eynav does not understand, for example, why the authorities are not on his side. After all, they urged him to acquire the land and ignore legal procedures.

According to 'Eynav, when the investigation started, he showed up at the police station and voluntarily placed all his books at their disposal. He also allowed his bank accounts to be investigated.

"The whole Avraham Gindi affair started because of me. I went to the police and told them. I knew they were looking for material. His brothers made a mistake when they left the country. In my opinion they are totally innocent."

When the scandal surfaced the police called in everyone who was associated with the affair. "Any time they were looking into any file they somehow reached me at one stage or another. I am involved in many deals. One more thing, the Arabs know my name. When they were asked who defrauded them they answered: 'By God, hawajah, I think it was 'Eynav who cheated me.' Many times it turned out I did not even own land on the site in question.

"I am known on the West Bank and therefore I am paying the price now. There are 40 files against me. I believe I will be totally vindicated. I know how to work. I never promised anything I could not deliver. If I could not deliver the goods, I refunded the money. Always. But in the meantime this investigation is killing us. This is torture. Let them take all these files and establish a committee of experts that will decide what is legal and what is not. Let them allow me to work. This has destroyed the whole business. It is impossible to find entrepreneurs. Everything is lost. Today no one is purchasing land in Judea and Samaria. The Zionist project is all over with."

'Eynav remembers Israel Galili's days fondly. "Those people of the Labor Movement knew what land redemption is all about. They did it quietly, subtly, and wisely. All those who did it were farmers. Moshe Dayan, Israel Galili, Me'ir Zore'a. Likud left it to retailers. What did Simha Erlikh, who was minister of agriculture, know about land? What does David Levi understand? All they were interested in is the number of settlements.

"There were 22 new settlements when the Alignment was in power. All were part of the Alon Plan. When Likud won the elections they went crazy. They established 122 settlements, some dangerously close to dense Arab populations.

"When the Alignment was in power they did not buy any land from us without preliminary registration. Likud people told us: 'Settle the land.' When I pointed out to them that the paperwork had not been done yet they said this was not important. That we should just go ahead. They were going to take care of the bureaucratic procedures. They promised, cajoled, and encouraged.

"Now all of it is exploding. It hurts me. Why is it that when the scandal broke out none of them--Michael Deqel, Ariq Sharon, Yitzhaq Shamir and others--came forth to say: 'We approved. We pushed. It was all done with our knowledge.' They did not even give me anything in writing. It was all done based on oral agreements. I am going to sue them all."

(Pli'a Albeq) does not tend to consider 'Eynav as a scapegoat of the system. She said that there have always been guidelines for acquiring lands and registering them and that in 1983 she only compiled them and presented them to the government as mandatory guidelines.

She discounts 'Eynav's claim that there were no guidelines prior to that. "There were very clear rules how to acquire. No acquisition was ever approved without a thorough investigation. I am not aware whether one minister or deputy minister told 'Eynav or anyone else to act in violation of those guidelines. These questions have to be posed to them. If they indeed did so, it was against regulation."

In 1981 the police raided 'Eynav's home. He says that happened following a tip. They found \$172,000, gold bars, gold coins, two guns, and five grenades. He was detained.

"I did not understand what the big noise was all about. Was it not clear that I was paying Arabs in foreign currency? I occasionally obtained a license to purchase foreign currency. I always had large amounts of cash on me. Had the police arrived 2 days earlier they would have found close to \$1 million. This was a very busy period. There were lots of deals, involving a lot of money. The guns were for self defense.

"It turned out at the trial that the guns were a present from David El'azar and another friend. The grenades had been with me since my days in Ethiopia. They confiscated everything and left me with no weapons.

"I proposed plea bargaining. They insisted on a full blown trial. It took 2 years. Uri Slonim served as my attorney. In his ruling the judge himself defended me saying that what I had done was for this country. He fined me 8 percent of the cash involved. Before the trial I offered the police 50 percent.

"The judge also allowed me to obtain a license for the weapons. I never applied. Also, although I have a license to deal in foreign currency, I don't do it. I take an Arab with me, who, stupidly enough, is entitled to buy dollars, and he exchanges the funds."

Up to 5 years ago West Bank Arabs sold lands with relative ease. Jews bought with restraint and the Arabs did not feel threatened. Sometimes they preferred that the fact not be publicized, but they still sold. 'Eynav tells that on one occasion a village chief told him that he was selling the land but to wait with the registration for a year. He waited and obtained the whole tract.

When the big wave started, it dawned on them that Israel is establishing areas de facto. The PLO also started intervening. In cooperation with Jordan, they formed a committee to fight the process. The committee was extremely well-funded. It was meant to acquire lands on the West Bank and fight those Jewish brokers who managed to buy lands with prolonged trials. A battery of lawyers, at the disposal of the committee, is making a fortune.

Moreover, any Arab travelling to Amman and who says that Jews forced him to sell his land or that they defrauded him, receives thousands of dollars in compensation.

'Eynav is aided by local Arabs. Sometimes it is easier for an Arab to sell to another Arab rather than directly to a Jew. Those straw men are exposed to assassination. Their names and occupation are well-known. Abu Salah, 50, from a small village near Qalqilyah, was 'Eynav's partner in several deals. Several months ago, when he was leaving his house, an Arab youth knifed him. He is now an invalid.

'Abdallah Shuqayri, 44, from Ramallah, was a small-time lawyer until 'Eynav contacted him about 10 years ago. 'Eynav referred land registration files to him. He paid 500 dinars (about \$1,500) per file. In March 1985 he was ambushed near his office at the Nablus Gate. Acid was poured on his face. By the way, this is near the spot of the office where Zehava Gan 'Ovadya was murdered recently.

Today 'Abdallah's face is all distorted. The whole left side has been burned. He cannot close his eye. His eyelids are red. According to him the police mishandled the investigation. "They put an Arab in charge of the investigation; he is covering up the whole thing," he says.

Ahmad 'Awdah is also a partner. He is the biggest Arab land broker on the West Bank. He is 35, a father of five. He was detained several times in conjunction with forgery of power of attorney papers and the bribery to Likud. Up to 5 years ago, 'Awdah was a land registry clerk in Ramallah. His name was associated with Ariq Sharon, Yitzhaq Shamir, David Levi, military governors, and other IDF persons. He met some of them in their offices, others have visited his elegant home in the village of Hablah.

'Awdah goes about armed. He also has bodyguards. He knows his end is close at hand. "I have transferred all my money to my children. I did the same with all my lands. I know my days are numbered. They are looking for me. If this is Allah's will, so be it."

'Awdah, according to 'Eynav, owes him hundreds of thousands of dollars for lands that he promised to buy. The money was paid to Arabs but no land was transferred in return. Now 'Eynav cannot sell it to developers. He is stuck. He is worried. 'Awdah may be killed tomorrow and he will have nowhere to turn.

Says 'Awdah about his involvement with the bribery affair to Avi Tzur:
"'Eynav told me to pay. I gave \$60,000. Now they tell me only \$50,000 have been recorded. How do I know where \$10,000 disappeared to? Let them investigate."

Deals are deals, even when business is slow. 'Eynav continues to with land acquisition deals. He continues to see to it that registration of land is done. He continues to bribe people. Money comes from loans. He has no choice. If he does not continue, the whole business will fall apart. He hopes that the whole thing will subside and that he can continue working peacefully.

"I don't believe I will expand. I will just take care of the deals already underway. I will acquire small tracts which are needed for existing settlements. No more. Likud is pleading with me to find lands on the Jordanian side of Kokhav Ya'ir. They established a settlement there for Likud settlers and ironically it was all established within the Green Line. Now they want to show that it qualifies as a settlement on the West Bank. Maybe I can find them some land."

[Question] Do you feel like Yehoshu'a Hanqin of the 1880's?

[Answer] I am the first one to register any land with the Jordanians. I am the first one to have acquired land in such proportions. For me it is both business and ideology. Settlements like Elqana III, Ramat Modi'im, Sha'arey Tiqua, Oranit, Barqan, Alfey Menashe, Tzofit, Ganey Modi'im, Giv'at Ze'ev, Netafim, and 'Imanu'el were established on land which I acquired. Others, such as 'Ir HaMakabim, Giv'at Ehud, and Efrat III are still on the drawing board. All this speaks for itself. It would be presumptuous for me to refer to myself as another Hanqin. What is important for me is the settlement of the Land of Isarel.

[Boxed paragraphs on page 30]

How is land acquired?

To begin with, a tract has to be located and its owner has to be located. It is then necessary to go to a tax registrar to verify the Millet, and find out whether taxes have been properly paid.

This is, effectively, the official confirmation of land ownership. The problem is that Arabs tend to register much less than they actually own. The owner says, and the Jordanian law accepts, that he cannot cultivate his whole property simultaneously and thus he registers only that amount which he actually cultivates at any one time. Sometimes only 20 dunums are registered when the person actually owns 200 dunums.

After that negotiations start as to the price of the land.

The next step is preparing a map of the property. The purchaser brings the map to the owner and requests that he and the owners of the adjacent properties sign the map acknowledging that these indeed are the boundaries. It should be pointed out that the map is in Arabic, without coordinates, as requested by the Israeli authorities for security purposes.

After all neighbors have signed, the village chief has to sign. This is the most important signature. The chief keeps all land registration for the village and he knows exactly who owns what, how much is owned, and when it was sold.

The chief has to sign the map and furnish a deposition verifying the ownership. He has to have two other dignitaries sign, too. This process is called "Madbatah."

The signed map, together with the deposition, is then taken to the land registry and a file is opened. Then all documents are examined in the local land office. When all that is taken care of, the purchaser has to publish the acquisition in two papers so that anyone who has an objection can file it. A period of 16 days is allowed. A minor or an incompetent person has a whole year to file an objection.

The next phase is called "kishaf." The whole village, with the chief, is invited to examine the land. All those concerned, and those not concerned, go over to the property and owners of adjacent properties mark their boundaries. The committee asks many questions. The process ends with determining the exact boundaries of the property. Everything is then documented and signed.

In spite of all this there is a military appeals committee. Both sides can register objections with it. When this whole complicated procedure is completed, the initial registration under the new ownership takes place. Usually the name of an Arab straw man is used.

The whole process sometimes take years to complete.

8646/9599

CSO: 4423/117

ISRAEL

BRIEFS

ECONOMIC PACT WITH ECUADOR--Israel and Ecuador signed an economic cooperation accord yesterday which is designed to help the Latin American country produce exports goods with Israeli assistance. Ecuadoran Foreign Minister Edgar Teran Teran, who is in Israel on an official visit said: "There are many possibilities but the basic idea for these joint export projects could be the production of clothes, for example, which we would produce with Israeli technology and then export to the U.S." Israel is currently helping Ecuador to grow flowers for export, Teran said. Teran, who leaves on Friday, said he invited Foreign Minister Shimon Peres to visit Ecuador. Tuesday in a meeting with Industry Minister Ariel Sharon, the two agreed an Israeli delegation would visit Ecuador in January. [Text] [Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 20 Nov 86 p 9] /6091

CSO: 4400/77

JORDAN

VARIOUS GENERAL SECURITY PROMOTIONS REVIEWED

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 21 Nov 86 p 2

[Article: "Promotion of 111 General Security Officers to Various Ranks"]

[Text] The lofty royal decree was issued agreeing to the Council of Ministers decree covering the promotion of 111 general security officers. It included the promotion of Brig Gen Muhammad Yusuf 'Ubaydat, assistant to the judiciary police, and Brig Gen Ghazi Niyazi Jarrar, assistant to the department, to the rank of major general.

The promotions also included those of Col Hamad 'Awdah Musa, Col 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad al-'Adwan and Col Muhammad Ahmad al-Tawalibah to the rank of brigadier general.

From the rank of first lieutenant to the rank of captain: Nabil Muhammad Bayir 'Arabiyat, Fahd Muhammad Arfifah, 'Abd-al-Rahim Darwish Mustafa, Musa Mu'ammam, Nayif Huwaymil, 'Ali Radwan 'Ali, Hani Salim, Khalid Ahmad, 'Abd-al-Latif Musa, Ahmad Mahmud Ahmad, Adib al-Faris, Ibrahim Muhammad, 'Ali 'Ubaydat, Muhammad Hashim, Salamah 'Arabiyat, 'Abdallah Muhammad 'Abdallah, Musa Shatiyan, Ahmad Sa'd, Mahmud Ahmad, Fu'ad Salih and Hasan Salim.

To the Rank of First Lieutenant

'Atif 'Abdallah, Fudayl Shitawi, 'Ali Hammad, Salamah 'Ayid, Jamal Ahmad, Walid Ahmad, Muhammad Fawaz, Khalaf Salim, Muhammad Mustafa, Muhammad Yusuf, Khalid Hasan, Tariq Khalil, Hasan Husayn, Husayn 'Ali, Musaddiq Husni and Muhammad Mustafa.

To the Rank of Second Lieutenant

Shakir 'Ali, Ahmad Salim, Bassam Mansur, Khalil Salih, Tayi' Salim, Salih Ibrahim, Fadl Kasib, 'Abd-al-Rahim Ahmad al-'Abd, Nayif Hamdan, Qasim al-Fawaz, Ibrahim Zahir, Khalaf al-Jarawan, Anwar Nayif, 'Abd-al-Rahman Salamah, Amin Hasan, Nayif Hasan, Ibrahim Muhammad, 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Musa, Mahmud 'Abd-al-Rahman, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad, Nayif Ahmad, 'Id 'Abd-al-Hamid, Sulayman 'Awadallah, Ibrahim 'Ali, Fayiz Khalif, Isma'il Ibrahim, Ghassan Mahmud, 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ayyash, 'Ali Salih, Husayn Mutawwa',

Dayfallah 'Ali, 'Umar al-Rafi'i, 'Ala' al-Bakri, Nasir Mahmud, Muflih al-Jarrah, Muhammad Rajab, Muhammad Qasim, Faysal Ibrahim, Bassam Qublan, Ahmad al-'Amri, 'Umar Yusuf, Ibrahim Salamah, Bilal 'Abd-al-Fattah, 'Abd-al-Nasir al-Dabbas, Wajih al-Shajarawi, Tariq Abu al-Saman, Ziyad al-'Adwan, Iyad Nawwar, Sirri Mahmud al-Nasir, 'Umar al-Saliti, Muntasir Mihyar, Yahya Sulayman, 'Abd-al-Hayy Salman, Khalid Ibrahim, Wasfi al-Qasim, Muhammad al-Su'ub, Sharif Nuwaysir, Ayman Sulayman and Ibrahim 'Abd-al-Rahman.

11887

CSO: 4404/129

JORDAN

FORESTRY CHIEF DESCRIBES DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 22 Nov 86 p 18

[Article: "Improvement of Pastures in Areas Accounting for 90 Percent of Jordan's Area; Use of Telecommunications Equipment and Firefighting Vehicles To Oversee and Combat Fires"]

[Text] Mr Ghalib Abu 'Urabi, Agriculture Ministry director of forests and soil preservation, stated that one of the department's most prominent projects in the current year is the German-Jordanian forest project.

In the area of training, Mr Abu 'Urabi stressed, in a conversation with AL-DUSTUR, that forestry officials are being trained to increase their information and raise their forest activity capabilities. These include courses on the use of telecommunications and fire surveillance equipment and courses on the use of forests and the use of the publications necessary for that.

Studies

Mr Abu 'Urabi stressed that an experiment is now taking place to add on workers in the context of increased production in forestation projects. This experiment is taking place in three stages, preparation of planting lines, drilling of holes and planting.

He said that the forestation areas have been determined in Madaba Province and the demarcation operations will continue in the light of the results after they have been discussed.

Fighting Fires

Mr Abu 'Urabi stressed that telecommunications equipment had been introduced into protection and firefighting activities. In the department there are 120 radio transmitters, apportioned among all the governorates and districts for this purpose.

He pointed out that a workshop will be opened for the maintenance and repair of telecommunications equipment and motorcycles will be used in protection activities. Six motorcycles have been bought which will be apportioned among

various areas of the kingdom, in addition to the numbers which were distributed in previous years, which came to 26.

He said that a fire vehicle would be purchased, outfitted with the most modern firefighting equipment, and rescue teams have been introduced with the supply of vehicles equipped to fight fires.

The Pasture Department

Mr Abu 'Urabi stated that pasture improvement activities were concentrated in regions where the rain is less than 200 millimeters a year, estimated at 85 million donums in area, that is, the equivalent of 90 percent of the area of the kingdom.

He pointed out that the deterioration in the condition of these lands and their low pasturage capability can be attributed to inequitable, early pasturage, the use of vehicles for transportation on these lands, which cause the uprooting of bushes and pasture plants, and the use of these lands for farming grain, which is not a profitable agricultural activity.

He stressed that the ministry has established 13 pasture protectorates with a total area of 145 donums in addition to two stations each in Hamrah 'Ayrarah, Yarqa and Wadi al-Batm.

Projects

He said that one of the department's most prominent projects is that of developing pastures with the help of the World Food Program. This includes the upgrading of 110,000 donums in the next 5 years. The program will offer its assistance in the form of foodstuffs to be given out to people working on the project.

He added that there were numerous projects such as the desert encroachment project, which has the goal of developing 50,000 donums of pasture land, and the al-Hamad basin project. In addition, work will be carried out on finishing a complete fence for the al-Azraq pasture protection region, which will cover an area of 150,000 donums, preparatory to its development as pasture.

Land

Mr Abu 'Urabi stressed that this department is applying Law 14 for 1974 on the administration of government properties and amendments to it with respect to forest lands present in various areas of the kingdom, whose area comes to 1.3 million donums; of this, 304,000 donums are natural forests and 315,000 donums manmade forests, and the rest are forest lands whose area lacks forest trees. Most of these entail large areas that have not yet been planted with trees.

It is also applying Decree 8 for 1971 on quarries with respect to forest lands concerning the quarries' proximity to or distance from lands with trees on which forest trees are growing and the acts of trespass carried out against forest lands on the part of quarry owners.

LEBANON

SYRIA SETS CONDITIONS FOR RECONCILIATION WITH AL-JUMAYYIL

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 15 Oct 86 p 20

[Article: "Danny Sham'un: A Hot Autumn in Lebanon; 24 Neighborhoods Strafed in Beirut"]

Lebanese security sources said that four persons were killed and 11 injured during clashes across the Green Line in Beirut yesterday, during which artillery and rocket launchers were used. The sources mentioned that a woman and her daughter were among the dead. This brings the number of casualties to 15 dead and 50 wounded since the beginning of the month.

The sources also said that the shelling covered 24 neighborhoods in west and east Beirut before tapering off to intermittent sniping. Observers blamed this military escalation on a stalemate in political efforts.

Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karami said in a statement issued in Beirut yesterday that he will work to revive the governmental dialogue which was interrupted because of the 27 September events when the forces of Elie Hubayqah, former chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lebanese Forces, attacked east Beirut from west Beirut.

Conditions

Press reports in Beirut said that as a result of Algerian mediation, Syria has given three principle conditions for a reconciliation with President Amin al-Jumayyil: Hubayqah should acknowledge in writing the existing special relationship between Lebanon and Syria; and a new cabinet should be formed to include Hubayqah's supporters.

In Damascus, Syrian Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam continued his talks with militia leaders opposed to al-Jumayyil. Yesterday, he met with Nabih Birri, the head of "Amal," and George Hawi, the secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party. Hawi told the AFP that this meeting is one of a series which aims at pushing forward efforts for a national, non-secretarian program to confront the Israeli occupation and find a solution to the Lebanese crisis.

Birri said that this meeting aims to strengthen the national task and the Lebanese National Front. Khaddam met the day before yesterday with Birri and Walid Junblatt, head of the Progressive Socialist Party, and Elie Hubayqah.

A Hot Autumn

Danny Sham'un, head of the National Liberal Party, criticized the Damascus meetings. He said that in the past, such meetings had yielded negative results for Lebanon. After a meeting with Samir Ja'ja', chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lebanese Forces, Sham'un added that all indications pointed to this autumn being a hot one "militarily."

13340/12859

CSO: 4404/102

LEBANON

LEBANESE ISLAMIC SALVATION FRONT RECEIVES MONETARY SUPPORT

Kuwait AL-QABAS 15 Oct 86 p 20

[Article by Naji al-Ahmad: "Salvation Front Underwrites Ration Coupons To Protect Refugees in Lebanon"]

Mubarak Sa'dun al-Mutawwi', representative of the Lebanese Islamic Salvation Front, said that establishing the solidarity committee in Kuwait arises from a feeling for what the peoples of Lebanon and Palestine undergo in terms of daily oppression and a systematized war of annihilation, a fact which compels us to offer assistance in service to our fateful cause by extending our hand to our people. He added that the state has offered opportunities for humane charitable work and has approved of these steps, which are in accordance with Kuwait's well-known policy of supporting human causes and just demands. Although the committee has been in existence for only a few months, its accomplishments are substantial.

Al-Mutawwi' noted that the committee relies on donations from charitable groups and organizations, and official agencies. It also receives aid in kind, charitable donations, and gifts. We, for our part, set up field surveys through the committee's working methods for the needs of the people and come up with plans to meet these needs.

He pointed out that at present the committee is working to establish medical centers and orphanages to take care of orphans and see that they are brought up properly, and to protect them from attempts at conversion to Christianity. The committee is also establishing special schools and nurseries as well as elementary schools and religious schools. The committee also helps poor families in the occupied territories and in the camps, especially those families which have lost their breadwinners. He also pointed out that the number of refugees in the West Bank is 347,511, in the Gaza Strip 391,286, in the refugee camps in Jordan 771,134, in Syria 229,433, and in Lebanon 252,593.

Attorney Mubarak al-Mutawwi' said that the committee's activities are based on study and project preparation, especially health projects, medical centers, infirmaries, and mobile clinics. One medical center has already been established as well as two infirmaries, one for men and one for women, which will serve the Wihdat camp in Jordan and a modern clinic which will service the Hittin camp. The committee is diligently studying other projects, such as

family planning, and it hopes to become self-sufficient in this field and not depend on intermittent help. It also hopes that the families themselves will carry on in that thereafter. Another project under study is income-producing projects which would raise the standard of living. Its benefit would be two-fold: employment and production of income. Such projects include egg production, cattle and sheep-raising as well as a bakery which is currently under study.

The information bureau publicizes the committee and its activities through newsletters, books, booklets, and illustrative methods. Al-Mutawwi' added that at present the committee is distributing monthly ration coupons which will provide Palestinian families with a steady income. It is also working on continuing and improving projects for the two peoples, Lebanese and Palestinian.

13340/12859

CSO: 4404/102

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

WRITER SHAFIQ AL-HUT PROFILED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 18 Oct 86 pp 56, 57

[Article: "Shafiq al-Hut Tills the Land and Cultivates Ideas...for the Arab Future"]

[Text] The Arab writer or thinker needs a strong faith in his national and patriotic convictions, a large capacity for optimism, and perhaps a large amount of patience to distance himself from the depths of despair, to look to the Arab future serenely, and to discuss it, as if he carries inside himself hope for salvation and for emergence out of the dark tunnel.

Whoever looks at the Arab future through the current Arab reality finds before him a black picture and feels as if all his hopes and ambitions will turn into mirages. His despair, pessimism, and sense of being lost increase.

Thus, the task of searching for the Arab future, in the midst of this darkness, perdition, and fragmentation, is a task for dreamers or a task for those who believe in the solidity of the Arab nation and its ability to overcome ordeals, however great, just as it has done more than once in its history.

Shafiq al-Hut, the dear friend and colleague, the Arab, Palestinian, and Lebanese writer, thinker, and politician, as his beloved ones and friends call him...Shafiq al-Hut is not among the dreamers. He is a writer who has, in his political and professional life and in his style, dreamy and poetical turns, of which he is not ashamed and does not claim to be innocent.

Shafiq al-Hut is one of those who deeply believe that the Arab dawn has come, however long the night was and however black the darkness.

He is also one of those who deeply believe that whoever plunges himself into the present, that is, whoever abandons himself to internal disputes, conflicts, and wars, whoever does that cannot plan for the future. He cannot even look at this future honestly and clearly.

However, Shafiq al-Hut is also one of those who believe that looking toward the future in isolation for the present and its reality, however difficult this may be, is fleeing from reality. No future can be built without starting from reality and trying to benefit from the mistakes, (tatters, and shortfalls) of this reality.

The Arab future needs to be built, that is, planned, that is, it needs to be regarded in a scientific, objective way that takes into consideration Arab capabilities as well as the limits of Arab and international reality.

A few days ago, Shafiq al-Hut published a book entitled "In Order That We May Till the Land: Discussion of the Future." The book was issued by the Independent House of Studies and Publishing and is true to its title: it discusses the Arab future, starting from Arab reality, and tries at the same time to present ideas and suggestions that will aid in building the future or that will open the door to a debate of this future and what it might or must be.

This book (142 pages) is composed of three studies of the future:

1. A new Arab strategy.
2. The kind of Palestinian state we want.
3. A national response to the Lebanese Front charter.

The three studies clearly reflect Shafiq al-Hut's concerns, and those of the Arab and Lebanese Palestinian thinker and writer.

Despite the disparity of the topics, there is a common denominator that binds these studies, which is that they all concern the future dimension of current issues: the Arab issue, the Palestinian issue, and the Lebanese issue. Shafiq al-Hut said in the introduction of the book: "The object of these studies is to turn 'words' into 'programs' of practical political action because as long as we till the ocean, we will harvest nothing but foam. To the extent that we till the land, we can cultivate it and to the extent that we cultivate it, we can reap." From these three studies, we have chosen certain points found in the first study, the title of which is "Toward a New Arab Strategy."

Shafiq al-Hut believes that the new Arab strategy can be founded on the following bases:

1. The necessity of establishing the national map of Arab territories and then confirming that this land is one Arab nation, and the responsibility of defending every foot falling on the shoulders of all the Arab states without regard to the political or social identity of the current regimes in them.
2. Defense of the national map requires a qualitative pattern in current Arab relations that is superior to what exists among them now.
3. The necessity of establishing the political map on the national level through our awareness of the reality of the conflict existing over the territorial map and through our realization of the reality of the Zionist enemy and the nature of its alliances. Separating friends from enemies clearly and definitively cannot be put off any longer.

4. The necessity of acknowledging that the process of social development, whether within the country or on the level of the nation, is a natural and inevitable matter and cannot be obstructed. Therefore, for the sake of helping this process takes its proper and serious course, the way must be opened for democracy.

5. The need to pass from generalities to details and to make up a ladder of priorities for our national issues in order to regulate the processes of interaction among them and to exploit them in the interest of the broad, overall strategy.

6. The Arabs must have an integrated economic-oil policy that takes into consideration all the political dimensions of this Arab energy resource on all levels, local, national, and international.

7. Recognition that, because it is complicated, the issue of Palestine needs a complex plan to be solved. This means that it is necessary to design more than one gradual plan, within the framework of the general strategy, in order to realize Palestinian national goals and Arab national goals. "Therefore, it is necessary to redefine established Arab strategic principles and to clarify them, then to announce adherence to them nationally and morally."

First of all, these principles include the rejection of any ethnic entities in the Arab nation, whether they be imported foreign ones or local factional and sectarian ones.

Second, these principles include announcement of the nation's adoption of the motto of democratic societies, without any discrimination on the basis of origin, religion, or political creed, within the framework of the unified Arab environment, and with one heritage and unified aspirations.

Third, these principles include the refusal to give in to any acknowledgment of or legislation for the occupation of territory by force and the acknowledgment of the right to self-determination for any people or group only on their legal territory.

Fourth, these principles include that Palestine is a part of the Arab national homeland and its people a part of the Arab nation; therefore, defense of both the people and the land is a national responsibility that falls on the shoulders of all the Arab states.

Fifth, these principles include that Zionism, which has been condemned by the international community as a racist creed, is a hostile creed, whose danger is not limited to Palestine and the Arabs but goes beyond this to the international community as a whole. Therefore, it must be constantly combated, exactly as, before it, similar creeds in Nazi Germany, Rhodesia, and South Africa have been combated.

Sixth, these principles include the necessity of distinguishing between Zionism as a political movement and Judaism as a religion. The struggle against the first in no way signifies a negative position toward the Jewish religion or anyone who believes in this religion. It also includes remembering the spirit of tolerance and fraternity among all the denominations that have existed in Arab societies, even during periods of Islamic rule.

Seventh, these principles include the necessity of linking the struggle against Zionism with the struggle against ideas and countries that support it. The history of the Zionist movement is clear in its account of its continued alliances and collusion with imperialist ideas and imperialist countries.

Eighth, these principles include the premise that the Arab people of Palestine are present and eternal and therefore have the right, as do all the peoples of the world, to enjoy the traditional and established rights of peoples recognized by international law. Foremost of these rights is that of self-determination and of the establishment of a state and national institutions in the framework of sovereignty and independence. Therefore, confirmation of the Palestinian national personality, embodied in the Palestinian Liberation Organization, is considered a national necessity in order to accomplish and achieve the goals of the Palestinian people and its Arab nation.

To these principles may be added, of course, other principles in order to make them more comprehensive. These principles form the established goals of the definitive Arab strategy with regard to the issue of Palestine. In other words, these are the principles of a long-term phase, which merit patient plans in order to be implemented on all levels. However, this is not enough, within the framework of the armed struggle and the current political activities on this issue. There must be a medium-term strategy that is capable of working with the current situation, which is extremely hot and dangerous. There must be a strategy that is capable, after the departure of Sadat and the removal of Egypt from the arena of the struggle, of fixing what is wrong in the balance of political and military forces, including a detailed plan to return Egypt to its Arab position and standing.

Therefore, there is the Palestinian revolution, both inside and outside of the occupied territory, which assumes, along with the Lebanese national movement, the tasks of daily confrontation with the enemy in order to resist Zionist occupation and expansion. Current Arab relations, in their entirety, with the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national movement are not in any way sufficient to achieve victory. In this area, the joint Palestinian and Lebanese leadership must speak in detail and with complete frankness.

Then there are the international arena, in which the area of moral and political support and assistance to the PLO has broadened, and the movements and efforts that occur in this arena. It is urgent that the Arabs take the initiative, through their political struggle, to design a clearly defined, step-by-step plan that is capable of working on this level to obtain more support and assistance and to tighten the noose of isolation around Israeli policy. I do not think that it will be difficult for us to design such a policy without any

encroachment upon our firm strategic principles. Perhaps we have, in the policy of the enemy itself, that which can guide us and show us this.

A reading of the Arab decisions on current strategy through more than 35 years shows with disturbing clarity the mixture of established principles and temporary political programs. It has become necessary to place curbs on the chain of Arab retreats that reached their climax in the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty.

13292/12851

CSO: 4404/116

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

AL-BID DISCUSSES REHABILITATION, PARTY, NATIONAL GOALS

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 22-28 Oct 86 p 15

[Article by Nura Fakhuri: "'Ali Salim al-Bid, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Ruling Party in Aden Tells Al-Majallah: We're Now at the Stage of Self-Criticism and Learning from Past Mistakes...."]

[Text] 'Ali Salim al-Bid is considered by many in the Democratic Yemen today to be top man in the Yemeni Socialist Party. He is secretary-general of the party's executive committee and one of the leaders able to leave the executive committee building alive even though he received head wounds as he moved to a camp from the Ministry of Defense building during the events of January 1986.

Born in Hadramawt, 'Ali Salim al-Bid is an engineering graduate of Hilwan University in Egypt. Before the incidents, he was a member of the politbureau of the Yemeni Socialist Party. He held the first defense portfolio after independence. He served in several cabinet posts including the ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs. AL-MAJALLAH interviewed him at the new Executive Committee headquarters.

[Question] The recent incidents cost the party a large number of leaders and members who either were murdered or emigrated. How has this vacuum been filled? Were they replaced with people of the same caliber?

[Answer] Certain people exaggerate our member losses and make it appear as though nobody remains. That is what 'Ali Nasir Muhammad tried to accomplish when he embarked on the physical liquidation of members of the Politbureau and the Central Committee and of party members and leaders in various organizations. It is true that our people and our party lost the cream of the crop of experienced leaders but, as you see, large numbers of party and patriotic cadres still remain. The various leadership organizations in the country and in the party were formed, early on and without any particular difficulty, according to partisan and democratic laws and according to such criteria as qualifications, experience, and dedication to the interests of the people and of the nation. We have abandoned past practices in dealing with cadres on the basis of cliques and rural loyalties.

[Question] How many party members emigrated?

[Answer] Those who escaped are few. Most of them were deceived and forced to flee with the others. We are sure that those who have escaped will recognize their mistake and return home to live in security and peace among their relatives. It is the only choice they have as proven by the large number of those who have returned after the prosecution listed the names of those wanted for trial and a general amnesty was declared.

[Question] If a person who has escaped returns, would he be treated as a party member and rejoin or will he always be a former member?

[Answer] The party has bylaws that govern all members regardless of location or rank. These bylaws governed the politbureau's guidelines for party dealings with members involved in the January events with a view towards reeducating them and towards their continued activity within party organizations.

[Question] Has there been any radical change in party orientation since January?

[Answer] No, there has been no change in the general orientation of our party. Our national and patriotic choices have not and will not change. We seek to enforce and bolster our national independence, build a productive national economy, and create a true cultural and intellectual renaissance. We seek to do more to ensure Yemeni unity with peaceful means and to build our relationship with our neighbors and brothers on the basis of our foreign policy principle of peaceful co-existence. We work diligently to bolster our strategic alliances with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

[Question] How do you define the legitimacy of the Yemeni Socialist Party?

[Answer] The third article of the constitution defined the position of the Yemeni Socialist Party within the political setup of society. It does not replace the legislative or the executive branches but rather carries out its political role as a leader of society and the nation.

[Question] The armed forces determined the outcome of the January battle. Has the party and its leadership changed their relationship with the armed forces? Who controls the other?

[Answer] The armed forces are the protective shield of the revolution and the mechanism to defend the gains of the Yemeni people. They were created and developed under the revolution to be directed by the party according to the interests of the people. The armed forces in our country are distinguished by being an important organized class. The role it played in aborting the 13 January conspiracy is proof that the party is the one that aims the gun.

[Question] What steps are you taking to prevent the recurrence of problems or developments as grave as the January 1986 events?

[Answer] The supposition that the events of January could happen again is a strange assumption. The January events were the result of premeditation and the presence of leadership elements with foreign ties. At any rate, we are

currently preparing a critical study to evaluate our experience and extrapolate its lessons for the future. We have corrected many previous deviations, especially by boosting and raising the effectiveness of leadership organizations and by bolstering the party's leadership role in orienting all aspects of public life.

[Question] Will 'Ali Nasir be tried before the party and on what charge?

[Answer] He will not be tried before the party because the Party makes people accountable but does not try them. He was made to account to the party and was dismissed from its ranks. The Supreme People's Council stripped him of all official positions. He will be tried by the judiciary on several charges in accordance with the constitution and the laws of the land. The demand to put 'Ali Nasir on trial is no longer a partisan demand but rather a national and a populist one.

[Question] How have the January events changed 'Ali Salim al-Bid as a leader and as a human being?

[Answer] The events of 13 January have had their deep impact. Any human being would have strongly condemned the massive massacres. A measureable change that has taken place on a leadership level is the recognition that the voice of the party is supreme in Democratic Yemen and that no individual, no matter how high his rank, is an alternative to the party and its collective leadership.

12945/12859
CSO: 4404/92

BANGLADESH

WRITER EXAMINES MOUNTING TRADE GAP WITH INDIA

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 7 Nov 86 pp 1, 8

[Article by Syed Badiuzzaman]

[Text]

Trade deficit of Bangladesh with India has mounted to about Taka 490 crore over the past five years since fiscal 1981-82.

According to an official source, during this period Bangladesh earned an amount of Taka 258 crore in foreign exchange by selling a limited number of items to India while she imported a wide range of Indian goods worth Taka 748 crore.

The trade gap between the two countries became widest in the last financial year (1985-86) when Bangladesh's exports to India dropped to Taka 30.65 crore, the lowest since 1981-82

while her imports from that country rose to about Taka 250 crore, the highest in five years.

In 1982-83, the trade deficit of Bangladesh with India declined to a large extent to only about Taka 50 crore when Bangladesh made an import of Taka 81.61 crore from India as against her exports totalling Taka 31.29 crore to that country.

Bangladesh earned an amount of Taka 112.30 crore in foreign exchange from India in 1984-85 which was the highest compared to her year-wise earnings over the last five years. During that period, the earnings shot up as purchase of raw jute in India accounted for Taka 75.13 crore for the first time since 1981-82.

The year-wise break-up shows that Bangladesh's export earnings from India were Taka 31.69 crore in 1981-82, Taka 31.29 crore in

1982-83; Taka 52.06 crore in 1983-84; Taka 112.30 crore in 1984-85 and Taka 30.65 crore in 1985-86. On the other hand the country paid India import bills of Taka 118.09 crore in 1981-82; Taka 81.61 crore in 1982-83; Taka 123.50 crore in 1983-84; Taka 174.68 crore in 1984-85 and Taka 250.00 crore (approx) in 1985-86.

According to information available with the Bureau of Statistics, the country imported fruits worth Taka 11.50 crore from India in the first nine months of the last financial year. Out of it, India sold oranges worth Taka four crore to Bangladesh.

Besides, over the July-March period of 1985-86, Bangladesh's imports from India included salt—Taka 15 crore, coal Taka 10 crore, flour—Taka 4 crore, cotton yarn—Taka 16 crore, tyres of buses and trucks—Taka 7 crore, textile spinning machines—Taka 5 crore, machinery—Taka 9 crore, trucks and lorries—Taka 6.50 crore, chassis—Taka 13 crore and dye—Taka 3 crore.

Meanwhile, country's total exports to India in the last financial year were newsprint—Taka 21.10 crore; leather—Taka 7.29 crore, glycerine—Taka 2.18 crore, printed materials—Taka 0.05 crore, and jute carpets—Taka 0.02 crore. In 1984-85, India's total imports from Bangladesh were: newsprint—Taka 21.04 crore, leather Tk 14.71 crore, glycerine Tk 1.24 crore, printed materials—Taka 0.01 crore, jute carpets Tk 0.03 crore and raw jute—Taka 75.13 crore.

/12828

CSO: 4600/1236

9 January 1987

BANGLADESH

FRG TO FURNISH TECHNICAL, FINANCIAL, FOOD AID

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 7 Nov 86 pp 1, 14

[Text] Bangladesh will receive a grant of Taka 167 crore (DM 106 mil. lion) as financial and technical assistance and as food aid from the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) for 1986-87 under separate agreements signed between the two countries in Dhaka on Thursday.

The agreements were reached following a three-day negotiations between the visiting FRG economic delegation and the Bangladesh officials.

The seven member FRG economic delegation is being led by Dr. W. Ehman Director of Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation (BMZ). Bangladesh side at the negotiations was led by Dr. A. S. Samad Joint Secretary of the External Resources Division.

Of the total grant DM 25 million will be available as general commodity aid grant DM 60 million as project aid DM 17 million as technical assistance. The FRG will also provide Bangladesh with 10,000 tons of food aid for the year.

The FRG has also committed to offer 50 non-project tied scholarship in different academic fields for Bangladeshi nationals.

Dr. S.A. Samad Joint Secretary of ERD Dr W. Ehman leader of the West German delegation and Mr. Klaus M. Franke the FRG ambassador signed the agreements on behalf of their respective governments.

/12828
CSO: 4600/1235

BANGLADESH

FALL IN FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES AVERTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 13 Nov 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] A steady uptrend in remittance flows has helped the Bangladesh economy in averting any substantial fall in foreign exchange reserves. The remittance totalled 193 million US dollars during the first four months of the current fiscal year (1986-87). This showed an increase by about 10 per cent over the corresponding period of the last year.

The growth in remittances which the banking circles attributed to slowing down of Hundi operations from abroad has however been an unexpected one. The year, beginning official projection was that the remittances would not record any growth at all in 1986-87. The World Bank in its last Country Economic Memorandum also projected that Bangladesh's remittance earnings would drop around 15 per cent in 1986-87 as 'oil exporting countries adjust to the recent sharp fall in their export earnings'.

The latest unofficial estimate would indicate that remittances would be about 590 million US dollars in 1986-87 if the trends of the first four months persist for the rest of the year. The earnings from remittances stood at 555 million dollars in 1985-86.

The growth in remittances has in the meanwhile provided a cushion for avoiding any new major dislocation in the balance of payments situation. The country's foreign exchange reserve now stands at 325 million dollars. Though down by about 124 million dollars from the level of July last the reserves as one highly placed source in the Bangladesh Bank told this correspondent are still 100 million dollars higher than the one in July 1983

during the period under report declined by about five per cent.

According to the official sources the country's overall export earnings during July-September '86 were 20 million US dollars higher than the corresponding period last year. The growth in export earnings was mainly due to the increase in export volumes -13 per cent for traditional items and 15 per cent for non-traditional items. The export prices for tea shrimp leather etc. have however shown some improvement in 1986-87.

But the growth of non-traditional exports is likely to have only a limited beneficial net impact on the balance of payments. The non-traditional exports have been growing from a relatively small base. Moreover, the major non-traditional items like ready-made garments rely heavily on imported raw materials and components.

9 January 1987

INDIA

STATEMENT DECRIES U.S. CURBS ON TRADE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 17 Nov 86 p 12

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 16.—During official-level trade talks held between India and the USA which concluded recently, the Indian side took off very strongly the damage being caused to India's trade interests in engineering products by the repeated use of countervailing duty and anti-dumping investigations which constitute a major non-tariff barrier against Indian exports to the USA, it was officially stated here today.

For example, certain iron castings had been subject to a countervailing duty review, anti-dumping investigations and proceedings for escape clause action. This raised concern from India that the proceedings being used by the U.S. industry were causing harassment to exporters and disrupting trade flows from India to the USA, an official note said.

Further, it was stated, the Government of India felt that many of the actions taken were not in conformity with the GATT code on subsidies. In the recent preliminary determination in the anti-dumping investigations on iron metal castings, the International Price Reimbursement Scheme rebates had been treated as a countervailable subsidy in disregard of the provision of the GATT code. The Government of India is concerned at this action as the IPRS is a key element of India's export

incentive programme and is proposed to be extended from engineering to other sectors, it was stated.

Another important issue taken up by India was of trade in textiles. The Indian side expressed disappointment and concern at the extension of fibre coverage of MFA and stated it hoped that the opportunity provided by the new round will be fully utilized to work out modalities for return of the international trade regime in textiles to the GATT framework.

On a Indo-U.S. bilateral textile agreement, the Indian side stated that it had entered into an Article 4 agreement with the USA in the hope that security of access would be provided. However, stability had been repeatedly disturbed by frequent calls for consultations. In all 17 calls had been made forcing the Government of India in some cases to go to TSB which in some instances had upheld India's stand.

Since there was already an aggregate limit for garments it was not fair to put restrictions on specific items, the official note said. It was noted that India's share of the U.S. market for clothing had fallen from 3.25% in 1979 to 2.46% in 1984. On textiles, the access provided during MFA II was not taken into account while considering restraints on specific items.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1222

IRAN

PAPER COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH U.S.

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 29 Nov 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Is U.S. Going to Change Its Policy?"]

[Text]

DURING the past four weeks, there have been numerous controversies in the world mass media—mostly carried by international Zionism—on the pretext of the so-called Iran-U.S. secret contacts.

Generally speaking, Israel—in line with the U.S. policy-makers have pursued two different goals, each of which had an instrumentally-vital significance.

The first approach was to attempt to put into practice a new political tactic in a bid to bring potential, moderate Iranian officials—as they have put it—to the negotiation table in order to improve relations with the Islamic Republic. Such an outcome (as far as the U.S. was concerned) may have had some influence on the ever-increasing trend of kidnapping and the more generalized attraction towards Islamic movements worldwide. But, in particular, would have a greater impact on the Middle East—a trend which is already beginning to drastically endanger U.S./Zionist interests.

The second move was to launch an apparent, well-organized propaganda campaign aimed at ruining the universally-admired reputation of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Israel, for its part despite its historic hostility towards Iran—was not a mere scapegoat—as some have claimed—yet it was the most commensurate means to enact the policy.

As Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani—the speaker of the Majlis and interim Friday Prayer Leader—concluded yesterday during a sermon; the hue and cry, in contrast, was a victory for Iran. "This," he went on to say, "tacitly indicates that Iran carries influence

in the world, as well as enjoying the upper hand in the six year old war with Iraq. That the true motivation behind the attempt to bridge political hostilities between the two countries (U.S. and Iran) emanated from a realization that Saddam is on his way out and, if not for this reason alone, a more amicable relationship with Iran would be desirable.

According to the speaker, U.S. policy-making lacks unanimous support, both domestically and globally (vis-a-vis the issue) and that this proves, in itself, the vulnerability of the U.S. Administration as seen from both its electorate and the world community.

The more information radiating from the mass media and the officials concerned, the more contradictions were being made public.

At the beginning, Reagan did not specify the channel involvement in the deal, but later on retracted his statement in a subsequent press conference, explicitly denying involvement of a third party. If these revelations were not enough to draw ridicule, Reagan's statement was promptly corrected by a spokesman to the effect that a third was involved. The Western media, however, dubbed Israel as 'the Third country'.

Such ludicrous clarification brought home the point that this contradicted official Israeli claims of acting as a go-between. Traces of these contradictions can be found in the utterances of every individual official to comment on the affair, the most ridiculous of which is the recent 'awareness' of the proceeds of the arms sales going to Nicaraguan Contra rebels.

This little fiasco has apparently culminated in the materialization of a string of U.S. officials just waiting to be sacked.

Mr. Rafsanjani made it quite clear that there is no need for direct talks as far as the U.S. is concerned; "If you deliver our frozen assets which are being held illegally, you can assuredly anticipate our assistance and cooperation with regard to the Lebanon hostage issue.

Of course, the question now remains as to whether the U.S. Administration is willing to change its imperialistic policies.

Experience has shown that the answer to this is a suspicious No.

/6091

CSO: 4600/80

IRAN

SYRIAN ENVOY COMMENTS ON 'BRITISH AIMS' IN SEVERANCE OF TIES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 28 Oct 86 p 2

[Text] Mr Ahmad Omran the present envoy of our brother country Syria to Tehran in a special interview with the (Foreign Service) report of ETTELA'AT, answered questions about recent changes between the British and Syrian relations. The text of this interview is as follows:

Question: "What is the principal reason for the severance of diplomatic relations between Syria and Britain?"

Answer: "Messers Hafiz al-Assad (the President), Farouk al-Shara' (Minister of Foreign Affairs), and Isam al-Na'ib (Minister of State for Foreign Affairs) all have made comments in this regard, I base my comments on their comments. Mr Farouk al-Shara, has stated that, "since the arrest of Hindaw last April, it was evident that the British Government intended to achieve its political aims in a way to direct it toward Israeli interests, and on the other hand, to arouse anti-Arab sentiments in Europe. The British government has never performed this act with a clear and open purpose in order to reveal the truth."

Mr Geoffrey Howe (the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs) appeared in front of the House of Commons and repeated the Hindaw events. Merely based on finding a regular Syrian passport in the possession of the mentioned person, he accused Syria of interfering in this case. He did not explain to the House of Commons that there are many countries in the world who issue passports to the citizens of other countries [as published]. Britain itself is one of the biggest countries that issues passports to other foreign citizens (those who do not have British birth certificates).

Question: Some Arab publications have called the British severance of ties with Syria, an effort to create favorable grounds for Israel to attack Syria. What is your impression regarding this. In principle, does this British move have any connection with the probable action of Israel against Syria?

Answer: This not unlikely and not remote either, if Britain is preparing desirable conditions for the start of a new attack against Syria. Because Syria is the only country which has resisted colonialism with all its strength, and has promised to restore the right of the rightful and return

the Palestinian nation to its homeland. Syria also has firmly resisted all imperialistic plots, especially the "Camp David" peace accord. No doubt the Syrian nationalist position has upset the world oppression, especially the British colonialists who are the foremost enemy of Arabs, and the first nation who has tormented the heart of the Arabs, with the establishment of the Zionist Dynasty. On the other hand this colonialist country supports all the movements which resist all the progressive movements in the world, especially the Islamic world and the Arabs, and have provided them with aid.

Question: The Foreign Ministers of the European Economic Community in Luxembourg are studying the severance of diplomatic ties between Syria and Britain, what is your analysis in regard to the result of this session? How important is this session for Syria?

Answer: It must be mentioned that there are many of the countries which rotate around the United States. Americans have given positive indications to Britain for severance of ties with Syria, and immediately have recalled their ambassador from Damascus. Canada also was among the nations who responded positively to Britain. However, it is unlikely that other western nations with vast interests in Arab countries would share the same attitude with the British, since breaking diplomatic ties with Syria is not profitable for them. Britain also has accused Syria of supporting terrorism. We have consistently condemned terrorism. We are antiterrorism, but we agree with patriotic and nationalistic resistances, and we have talked a great deal in this regard. We have distinguished the line between terrorist activities and patriotic activities of nations who are trying to liberate their countries. When the peaceful solution is not workable for administering justice and the rights of the oppressed nations are violated, it is natural for a nation to resort to any kind of violent action to liberate its land.

Question: What does Syria expect from the Arab nations in face of the activities of the British Government against another Arab nation? As you know, so far nations such as Algeria and Lybia, have condemned this British action, but other Arab nations have not taken a distinct and positive step in this regard. What is your view in this regard?

Answer: In my opinion it is impossible for any Arab nation to leave Syria alone and without any support, against the blood-thirsty enemy, which is Zionism with the British and American colonialist backing. In short, all Arabs must support Syria in face of this entanglement. Although these actions do not have any effect on Syria, it is feared that this excuse may create the basis for Western countries to attack Syria through Israel. Since Israel is an obedient tool and clutch in the hand of colonizers, and they always use it in an appropriate time, it is possible that this time colonialists have changed their method, and have fabricated and cultivated the word "terrorism" in their minds and have used it as a tool for aggression. It is appropriate here to mention that Syria always has been anti-terrorist and will remain against it. Therefore, it has used all its efforts to free all the foreigners detained in Lebanon, since Syria does not wish to give any tribute to anyone, or to accept any tribute from anyone. The Syrian stand

is a humane stand. This stand is neither hard, nor unbalanced. Syria has preserved this stand against all British hideous behavior at this time, and has announced that the recent events do not affect any of the British subjects residing in Syria. These people are free to live anyway they wish in Syria without any pressure. This indicates that the Syrian stand is a humane and anti-terrorism stand. It must be added that although Syria will support all the progressive movements, it will stand against any plots directed towards country and other progressive nations with all its power.

Question: As you know the western nations have not yet defined the meaning of the word "terror" specifically. In your opinion is the West able to present a specific and exact definition for the word "terror"? In case of defining this word, how do you evaluate this definition?

Answer: I think it was in the summer of 1984, when the question of "terror," its specifications and definition was discussed in the United Nations. At that time the specific border line between terrorism which harms society and the innocent people, and the activities for liberation of those lands under oppression, colonization and occupation, like the occupation and separation of a part of the Arab land in 1967 by Israel was specified.

In 1967 a part of Syria, the western bank of the Jordan River (West-Bank), and a part of Egypt was occupied by Israel. This is a clear fact that we have to fight against this occupation with every possible means in order to regain our lands. We have used all sorts of peaceful means to no avail. Everyone knows whatever is seized with force cannot be recovered, except by force. In any case, we state that any time the United Nations and all the related sides decide to form a peace-making conference in reality, not for drawing the Arab nations to conform with this peace, Syria will welcome such a decision. But it must be added there is great doubt as to the formation of such a conference. In conclusion we indicate that to campaign for liberation of the Arab and Islamic lands is the best possible way.

Question: What are the effects of the support of the nations like Iran for Syria in face of the recent action of the British government, propaganda-wise? And in your view, how will world imperialism react, to the unity and mutual understanding of the progressive Arab countries, Iran, and other progressive nations of the world with each other?

Answer: We and our friends and brother Iran are taking the same position in regard to our international stand which is agreed upon, and we stand side by side in this regard. Our continuous strategy is first to fight against colonialism, for which we use the word "oppression" adopted from the Koran. We will also fight against racism, Zionism, and as a whole racism and all its branches and divisions.

We are in the same entrenchment with our brother Iran, and our main goal is to liberate human beings from oppression, and we have mutual understanding in this regard with our Iranian brothers. Undoubtedly we are grateful to our brother country Iran for its day before yesterday's statement of support, and

the government's declaration issued after the last session of the parliament meeting, which condemned the recent British action, and have emphasized Iran's support of Syria. This is not unprecedented for the two brother nations to express the same voice and to resist every oppression in the world, colonialism and its savage and beastly inclinations, and especially Zionism and British colonialism, with its inauspicious intentions have already been exposed. British intentions to involve itself in a matter which it is not worthy of, meaning the question of peace. With its recent action Britain showed that neither it liked peace, nor it will support peace.

Question: We appreciate this interview and at this point do you have a special subject you would like to discuss and, if so, please do not hesitate to proceed.

Answer: We thank our friend and brother country of Iran for its support of Syria in face of an evident plot against a nation who likes peace, and intends to get rid of wrong-doings, and to take healthy and honest steps toward the establishment of the moral principles, and a genuine freedom among nations. Our freedom begins with liberation of our land. How could we be free, when our land is occupied and our nation remains vagrant?

9815/7051

CSO: 4640/17

IRAN

MINISTER DESCRIBES INDUSTRY GROWTH UNDER WAR CONDITIONS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Sep 86 p 19

[Interview with Minister of Mines and Metals Ayatollahi by KEYHAN; date and place not specified]

[Text] Economic service. On the occasion of economic crusade day, Engineer Ayatollahi, the minister of mines and metals, explained in an exclusive interview with KEYHAN the involvement of industry in the war, the reduction of the currency needs of domestic industries, new industrial production, the war in OPEC, the changes in the production lines of the factories, the use of steel manufacturing and copper production units in the war, and other industrial issues of the country.

The text of the interview follows:

After the start of the imposed war, through the preliminary studies we carried out, projections indicated that our total needs resulting from the war would require heavy foreign currency and rial expenditures. Consequently, the war authorities decided on how much of the war needs we would be able to provide and how long we could fight with this level of provisions.

Martyr Raja'i had once said that our war would begin on the day we shot our last bullet, that is, our real war would begin from that day.

It was a very appropriate point. In other words, we will enter the war when the burden of the war is placed on our own shoulders and the shoulders of our domestic industries and the production of our country.

Today, thank God, it can be said that to a great extent we have progressed in this area. That is, we manage the war, which requires huge amounts of currency, with a minimal amount of currency.

In this connection, by studying the needs of the war and dealing with the various problems of the war, our national industries have conformed themselves to these needs and offer the necessary products, which have been accepted by the combatants as well.

Some of the units, for instance, are prepared to build a field hospital in a minimal amount of time, about one to one and a half months, and at the present time, the units that have been completed are being used in the war effort.

In connection with procuring metal raw materials, also, most alloys needed by the military industries are being produced. God willing, [the war] is a gift of God. If not for the war, the people would not have thought about procuring these raw materials so quickly and, due to the low use of some of these alloys, they might not have even tried to procure them.

However, the war was an incentive for the production of these alloys in various factories. With the blessing of the war, in other industries such as tool manufacturing, the same alloys are used.

In connection with the production of spare parts needed in the war, it is true that our factories are essentially responsible for providing the raw materials of the industry, but because of the equipment that existed in the factories for the management and repair of the units, and these large industries naturally have large workshops, they become a focus of attention and in the area of the production of spare parts for the war, too, certain activities have been carried out. For example, the 130-mm flame cover, the production of which has reached the final stage recently and it has been placed at the disposal of the concerned organization, can be mentioned. This flame cover is one of the sensitive parts that has been regularly needed and talked about. It has now been produced and put to use.

Various other cases exist that, God willing, will be explained at the end of the war.

Change in the Production Line of Units

KEYHAN: Has the war changed the production line of the factories and even multipurpose products in the industrial units?

Engineer Ayatollahi: We had a factory, for example, in the casting industry which had a lot of possibilities, but its potential was not developed.

The factory was for a long time trying to find and receive orders, even trying to get small orders. Railroad brake shoes were among its best orders.

Its huge automatic equipment was not at all usable for 100-200 parts; it needed to work at a high output capacity.

In any case, our brothers concluded that this unit could be used to make ammunition. At the present, this unit is working on the production of weapons and providing a large volume of the ammunition needed on the front.

This shows that when the war enters the country, the hidden and unutilized potential of the factory is discovered. At the present, many of the factories are engaged in production in the service of the war in ways which were previously nonexistent.

Growth in the Economic Sector of the Country

KEYHAN: In your opinion, to what degree has the war been responsible for industrial and economic self-reliance and self-sufficiency in the country?

Engineer Ayatollahi: In connection with the growth in the economic sector of the country in the course of the war, especially with regard to the growth of industry in the course of the war, I must say that before we are attacked, the true potential of none of our equipment is clear.

The aggression launched against us by the imposed war caused all the organizations to begin to think about procurement and self-sufficiency in any possible way.

We see that in addition to supplying the needs of the war during this period, most industries have engaged in expansive activities to become self-sufficient and self-reliant. True, this has no direct relationship with the war, but currency conservation and procuring some of the needs of the national industries for particular items will ultimately be in the interest of the economy of the country.

For example, the activities of the self-sufficiency committee in various factories can be mentioned. The industrial activities in the steel mill, in the national industries group of the Iranian steel, aluminum, copper and other factories, have resulted in the production of some of the raw materials and a large number of the spare parts, which can be considered a result of the constant pressures imposed on the industries of our country in the course of the war.

Recently, two or three significant successes have been achieved. The production of metal alloys has achieved results in the past few months, and these alloys have tested satisfactorily.

We have also had aluminum and copper alloys, and, recently, aluminum and steel as well. The aluminum and copper have achieved results. At the present, the brothers are trying to use alloys of other metals where they are needed.

The production of industrial tar has also been carried out, which conserves several million dollars in foreign currency annually for the aluminum manufacturing industry.

In addition, in order to protect these industries in the course of the economic embargo, the currency problems and the shortage of spare parts were themselves significant indicators of activity in the industrial sector.

The output of those industries, which had been worked on even by the manufacturing countries and foreign experts, now exceeds the output of that time. Industries that, with the departure of foreign experts such as those at the Sarcheshmeh copper plant, have been operated essentially by Iranians and have been productive can be mentioned as those that are among God's gifts and

the result of the blessing of the testing period of this nation in this imposed war.

War on the OPEC Front

KEYHAN: The conspiracy to reduce the price of oil was another stage in the war against Iran. How much progress did we make and what did we gain in the area of the oil and the weapons of the new program of the government economy?

Engineer Ayatollahi: In connection with the OPEC price war and the lowering of the price of oil, the conspiracy began through England. However, the truth of the matter is that the functionaries of imperialism in the region had created this problem and were escalating it. If not for their cooperation with the oppressive governments, they would not have accomplished anything. The lowering of the price of oil, even up to 15 percent of the previous price, was not cost effective for some of the producing countries and it was a calculated and open conspiracy.

Even in the early days, the discussion was about the share of OPEC in such areas as production, which made clear to the OPEC members that these discussions were a cover-up for treason.

When this even occurred, and even before the analysis was made prior to that time, in several long sessions, the government devised a plan to confront this movement, which was named the "new economic independence plan" or the "plan to fight price-breaking in OPEC."

This plan was centered around several goals, the main one of which was to procure all the needs of the war. Then came the procurement of all the necessities of the society. Decreasing the consumption model in the society in connection with this goal was also discussed. In the same vein, several main goals of this plan were established so that the country would be able to gradually end the single-commodity economy and establish the economy of the country based on eliminating the needs of the society and relying on all the resources of the country, including oil, mines, agriculture and heavy and various other industries.

In addition, plans were made for the development of the mining industries and the development of exploration activities in order to identify the mineral potential of the country that has not yet been identified.

Thank God, even though the enemy thought it would use one of its most deadly weapons against our revolution, especially against us in the war, it was unsuccessful and now, more than seven or eight months have passed since the start of this conspiracy. At least it can be said that our country has been under less pressure than the rich oil exporting countries.

We are happy with the rise in the price of oil for one reason [as published]: The conspiracy of the colonialists became clear to the governments and nations of the region. The pressure of the nations on governments and the fear of unstable governments which rely on oil revenues caused them to accept Iran's view in OPEC.

IRAN

KHO'INIHA WARNS ANTI-RELIGIOUS, 'POLITICAL BANKRUPTS'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 27 Oct 86 p 2

[Text] The prosecutor-general warned that it has recently been noted that forces are at work trying to change the epic of Ashura, divert the revolution, and keep the people away from the fronts.

He added: Those responsible for this are political bankrupts who understand neither the language of the revolution nor its leadership.

The prosecutor-general discussed this matter yesterday at noon during a talk before a gathering of judicial police who had assembled at the prosecutor's assembly hall to observe the 40th day after the anniversary of the death of Hoseyn.

Our correspondent reports that these ceremonies were attended by a group of judicial police, the chief justice, several officials from this unit, as well as Hojjat ol-Eslam Saduqi, a deputy to the Supreme Judicial Council.

According to the same report, during these ceremonies, after readings of verses from the Glorious Koran brother 'Abbas Hashemi, chief of the judicial police, spoke to the audience on the occasion of the 40th day observances. Then the prosecutor-general spoke. He began by saying: I hope the revolutionary spirit is still predominant in this revolutionary organization as before, and that the desire to be revolutionary and to serve the revolution and Islam will always live in the judicial police brothers. We hope that all the country's judicial insiders will protect the interests of the oppressed with a vigilant and revolutionary spirit, and that this deprived toiling class which owns the revolution will receive aid and assistance at the various stages of the judicial process such as the courts and the prosecutors' offices, in order that their rights will not be violated.

The prosecutor-general then discussed the danger posed by some apparently good people who are threatening the epic of Hoseyn's Ashura. He added: In the past they tried to make the epic of Hoseyn's uprising into a heart-rending event, and to make sinners remember it, cry, and have their sins forgiven. In the past such efforts were made to divert the meaning of the uprising of Hoseyn. Of course they gradually succeeded in spreading this concept among the followers of Hoseyn, so that while mourning the death of their imam, they also maintained an abject and submissive frame of mind.

He continued: Personalities, intellectuals, and prominent scholars got into the act in order to teach the followers of Hoseyn that the uprising of Hoseyn is not solely an occasion for retreat. At every gathering organized in the memory of Hoseyn, we must hear his message and we must understand why they martyred our chaste imam in this way. What did he want, and why did he refuse to surrender? We must learn from his path and his method.

Hojjat ol-Eslam va ol-Moslemin Kho'iniha then said: Since the Islamic revolution the epic of Hoseyn's uprising has found its place, and it teaches sacrifice and disregard for self in the face of dangers to Islam. Now however, there are again forces at work who aim to return Islamic and revolutionary thought to its former state, and sometimes even worse. If in the past they told us that Emam Hoseyn (peace be upon him) was killed in order to make us cry, they also said that Imam Hoseyn said "no humiliation" to everyone to make them stand against the oppressors and the superpowers no matter how strong they are and destroy the enemy. Now they are realizing that the epic of Ashura has its own life and attracts nations.

They say that when Emam Hoseyn left Medina he was not looking for war and a crusade. They say that Emam Hoseyn strove moment by moment to prevent a war, that he avoided bloodshed, and that he did not want to fight a holy war with his enemy. These things are being said by a group who have now begun to speak out for reasons we ourselves do not know. When the world has acknowledged that Saddam is defeated and on the way out, they must be asked if they are saying these things to earn credit for themselves, or out of ignorance. If some of them have evidently reformed, others are Saddam's supporters, and these things being said are their words and writings. Don't they know what the consequences are? They calmly tell the people that Emam Hoseyn was prepared to compromise with Yazid, but they did not permit it. They are saying these things to rescue Saddam from his dilemma. It is certain that no friend of Emam Hoseyn's would say such things. One must ask them if they are saying these things to distort the history of Hoseyn's uprising, or to modify the epic of Karbala. Or do they want to bring our nation home from the fronts and save Saddam? They claim to be saying these things in order to save the two nations of Iran and Iraq. Why are they suddenly going into action, now that Saddam's supporters are hesitating? Does a partisan of Emam Hoseyn dare to say that Emam Hoseyn was prepared to submit to the caliph, while the enemy was not?

Hojjat ol-Eslam va ol-Moslemin Kho'iniha added: Emam Hoseyn realized what was happening in Kufah on his way there; he knew they had killed his envoy, but he knowingly selected the path he took. Can we still say that Emam Hoseyn avoided war?

Now that officials of the war and the Islamic republic are giving the people the good news of a decisive blow, why are these people suddenly analyzing Hoseyn's uprising? On the one hand it is unbelievable that they have aligned with the enemy, and on the other hand one cannot doubt what they are saying.

Continuing his remarks, he said: This group has recently become theologians and they issue decrees on what is religiously lawful and what is not. What shamelessness. What are these people really trying to do? Is this not a danger to our society's revolutionary culture? Even before the revolution these people made the evil insinuation that this method of combat is a mistake, and said not to allow the revolution to triumph in this manner. After the triumph of the revolution, no matter how they tried to lead the revolution into America's lap out of fear of the Soviet Union, they were unable to do so, and now they want to transform the revolution's inspirational basis.

Addressing these people, he said: You are a group the people understand inside and out. Obviously you are not quarrelsome. Of course no one expects that you will go to the front and send your children, inasmuch as you have not gone and have not sent your children.

What do you want with the people? What do you want with Emam Hoseyn? Why are you distorting a great revolution which has been an inspiration for centuries?

The prosecutor-general said: They say that we have misunderstood Emam Hoseyn's uprising. Their primary concern is the war. They say that we are saying the war is an imposed one, ignoring the fact that Arab leaders have told our officials behind closed doors that they know Saddam attacked us and imposed the war on us, acknowledging Saddam's aggression. These supporters of Saddam are more out of date. They say we have called the war an imposed war, and that the slogan 'war, war until victory' will really lead to destruction. What did Emam Hoseyn's war lead to? In their minds, it must have led to destruction! Why are you so afraid of bloodshed? In any case, bloodshed exists and it was imposed by the enemy. If our blood is shed honorably, this is better than submitting to humiliation. For them, combat is for us to respectfully tell the enemy, 'You have made a mistake, don't do these things, it is bad'. If he listens, very well, if he does not listen, we will go about our business.

The prosecutor-general continued: It is not without reason that the people have become angry. They telephone and say why don't you deal with these people and discipline them? Have you ever seen such a rude group of people? Suddenly they have become religious authorities, issuing decrees of religious law, and they are telling us we have deviated from the word of God. In what seminary did they study? These people are bankrupt politically! They are even more backward than the women and old women of Iran! Even the old women know that if Saddam talks of peace he is lying. These people have not understood, however. It appears that recent events have produced politically bankrupt theologians. If these people had been alive in the time of His Holiness 'Ali (Peace Be Upon Him), they would certainly have turned their swords against him to make him accept a peace with Mo'aviyye. At the conclusion of his talk, he added: In my opinion, these dangerous things are being said by people who do not understand the revolution and do not comprehend the leadership.

9310
4640/0019

PAKISTAN

POLITICS BASED ON SHOW OF WEAPONS IN SIND DISCUSSED

Lahore NAWA-i-WAQT in Urdu 11 Oct 86 Supplement pp 1, 12

[Article by Mohammad Ali: "The Emergence in Sind of New Politics--the Politics of the Gun]

[Text] Patience, competence, firmness, truth and tolerance are essential in politics. It is only in an atmosphere of mutual understanding that a policy of social consultation and deliberation can predominate. But now a new kind of politics, a "show of weapons," has emerged. Political leaders make a show of weapons at their meetings, causing terror among their political adversaries. The policy of a show of weapons has increased the tendency toward violence in the collective political situation; armed confrontation can take place at any time among the belligerent factions, and this in turn can damage the political situation. The goal of politics is the promotion of democratic institutions, the solution of political problems, and the interpretation of political rights and privileges of the people, so that political controversy can be resolved through argument, debate and discussion. But efforts have been made in Sind Province to impose point of view through guns and automatic weapons, and an atmosphere of terror has been created. The particular socioeconomic conditions prevailing in the rural areas of Sind from olden days require that most people carry arms with them. There is no society that does not permit people to carry arms legally for the protection of life, property and dignity. But a show of arms for political purposes constitutes a serious crime. For constructive politics and the national interest, it is essential to avoid such a crime. The first noteworthy confrontation took place in Sind when the late Mr Bhutto became the target of a murderous attack when he visited Sanghar on 30 March 1970. At the time, Jam Sadiq Ali, who was the righthand man of Pir Saheb Pagaro accused Mr Bhutto of attacking Sanghar with armed workers of the People's Party. He alleged that Mr Bhutto attacked the Hurs. The late Mr Bhutto, on the other hand, said that armed Hurs had attacked him and that if anything happened to him, the waters of the Sind River [i.e., The Indus] would turn red. The People's Party is the first political party of its kind to engage in aggressive politics whereby a show of arms is used to achieve results. It is said that the G.M. Syed group believes in the philosophy of armed force. Before the language riots in 1972, during the visit of G.M.Syed in the interior of Sind, young men armed with automatic weapons protected him. The bomb that exploded in the Muslim College at Hyderabad when he was addressing students was being carried by one of his followers, Habib Paracha, who himself was killed in the incident.

Young men carry huge quantities of arms during his birthday celebrations. G.M.Syed has formed the "Jiye Sind Volunteer Force" which is a unit of armed guards of the Jiye Sind movement. The People's Guard of the People's Party is no longer active, but the party considers the show of armed force at every level to demonstrate necessary its strength. When Benazir Bhutto went to Nawab Shah District, hundreds of armed men accompanied her; it appeared as though as Nawab Shah District was being conquered. She has organized units for her safety. Similarly, when Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi went to a meeting attended by Pir of Ranipur, men armed with automatic weapons were present before and behind his Mercedes-Benz. The National People's Party says that because the followers of Benazir Bhutto have adopted the slogan, "surround them, burn them," and follow a policy of hooliganism, it is necessary to maintain armed guards. The Mohajir Qaumi Movement exhibited Kalashnikov and other weapons at its meeting at Nishtar Park in Karachi. Previously, political groups in the rural areas maintained arms and ammunition in view of their tribal traditions and the lack of feeling of security. But now, political groups in urban areas, too, believe in the philosophy of armed force. On the one hand, the dacoits have established their rule in Sind with the help of Kalashnikovs, and on the other hand, political groups are also now trying to make Kalashnikovs their mark of identity. A high-ranking police officer says that Kalashnikovs are not as dangerous as they are believed to be, but dacoits are causing terror with this weapon, and now the term "Kalashnikov" is also being used as [popularly as] "disco dance". Political groups say that because the highways in Sind have become insecure and dacoits have established their rule on a wide scale, it is necessary to have weapons during gatherings and processions. Perhaps the situation is not as it is said to be. Nevertheless, the fact is that guns are being used to impose political ideologies. Abdul Hafeez Pirzada is a scholar of law and an expert in legal affairs, but when he came to the Hyderabad Press Club to participate in a press conference, he brought with him armed guards, who were seated on the Press Club lawn just like the soldiers of a victorious general establishing his rule in an occupied territory. Prior to this, when Baluch leader Sher Mohammad Marri visited the interior of Sind, armed Baluchis accompanied him in jeeps. Sher Mohammad Marri is well known as a guerrilla leader skill he considers himself a supporter of nonviolence. As with the People's Party, the National People's Party, and the G.M.Syed Group, Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada have also made a show of arms, and at their meetings and processions in the interior of Sind, weapons have been used. Like the Jiye Sind Student Federation, the members of the Sind People's Student Federation also have large quantities of arms in their possession. Immediately after the death of Faqur Iqbal Hisbani, during the occupation of the Civil Hospital at Hyderabad, these arms were exhibited. After the People's Party and the administration reached an agreement, these armed men were given permission to leave. The show of arms by Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada, conveners of the Sindhi-Baluch-Pakhtoon Front, during their visit to Sind along with the important legal problems, was in itself a manifestation of the increasing tension between political groups in Sind. The actual situation is that the People's Party considers the rural areas to be its monopoly and the political activities of opposition political groups as directed against its existence. An argument took place between the supporters of Mumtaz Bhutto and Benazir Bhutto during a flag-raising ceremony in Shahpur village in Hyderabad District, but there was no confrontation because Mumtaz Bhutto had advised his followers that there should be no fighting, although he had said that if their

meetings or procession were attacked, then they should respond to force with force. Hundreds of armed people surrounded the Nasrpur meeting. One of the leaders of the Front says: "We do not believe in the politics of weapons, we wish to establish contact with the people; we are presenting the program of the Front, but our adversaries have been threatening us and we must fight them."

Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada expressed their views on critical subjects in rallies at Thatha, Tharparkar, Badin, Hyderabad, Sanghar, and Nawab Shah, but their real targets were the army, the Punjab People's Party and the National People's Party. The government was not criticized directly. They attacked the political policy of the People's Party and they criticized Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Haneef Ramay. Commenting on Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's visit to Islamabad in Umar Kot, Mumtaz Bhutto said: Sind is asked to make sacrifices but Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi Himself has been going to Minar-e Pakistan and Islamabad to gain power. The parties that have been formed in Punjab are against Sind. Those who have been going to Islamabad with a basket of rotten eggs will soon learn the facts for themselves, and the [self-proclaimed] Sharafat party [i.e., 'Party of decent People'] will soon meet its fate. Mumtaz Bhutto, in a speech in the village of Tando Mir Jan Mohammed Talpur near the border in Tharparkar District, said he had not come to the village to ask for their help in gaining freedom. He said: Freedom is something much bigger than hunger. We may starve, but freedom comes before everything else. Freedom is a matter of honor and dignity. We must make sacrifices for freedom; we must break the chains. We have been free for centuries, we cannot remain slaves. We were Muslims before India was divided. If Pakistan had not been formed, we would still be Muslims. People from Punjab who have come and settled down in Sind for the sake of Islamic unity should go to Saudi Arabia or Afghanistan. The organizer of the Sindhi-Baluch-Pakhtoon Front in Baluchistan, Gouhar Khan Zarakzai, said: Punjab's ways and our ways are different. We will gain freedom by following in the footsteps of the Bengalis. Our generation may come to an end, but our slogan demanding freedom will remain. Shah Jahan Yousufzai, advocate of Northwest Frontier Province, said: If the confederation program is not accepted, then the three smaller provinces will unite and fight against Punjab. Mumtaz Bhutto did not criticize Benazir Bhutto directly although he criticized her party's current policy indirectly. But the main target of Hafeez Pirzada, general secretary of the party and handsome boy of the People's Party, was Benazir Bhutto. He said that the People's Party's policy had become meaningless and that the time was ripe for a policy of nationalities. If the army and Punjab follow a wise policy, Pakistan will survive. He said that his party did not have any personal differences with the People's Party, that it was a war of principles. He said that the real strength was in the hands of the army and that the present government was interpreting the desires of the army. He affirmed that the People's Party supports the federation policy, and as such there was no difference between the policy of the People's Party and that of the army. He said that Benazir Bhutto was seeking unity in the name of federation. By giving an important post to Tikka Khan, she was trying to prove to the army that Tikka Khan was more loyal to the army and Punjab than Ziaul Haq and Mohammad Khan Junejo. He said that Benazir Bhutto had rejected the federation policy in London. When she came to Lahore on 10 April 1986, hundreds of thousands of people came out to greet her. Punjab was behind her. When she came to Islamabad, the administration warned her not to go near the cantonment and Rawalpind; jail areas. After this Punjab ceased to

back her. Where was Punjab at the time of Faqir Iqbal Hisbani's death? Advocates of the Kala Bagh Dam asked Benazir Bhutto in Rawalpindi how she could expect to get their votes when she is against the dam. She replied that she would take a positive approach in this respect. Hafeez Pirzada, addressing Benazir Bhutto sarcastically, asked her about the hundreds of thousands of mourners were who were saying, "Bhutto we are ashamed that your murderers are alive." He said that 1973 constitution was a 12-page document that could be torn into pieces by any general. What we want, he said, is not a constitution but a guarantee of equality. Without mentioning Benazir Bhutto by name, he added that she was taking "haleem" (a special dish) cauldrons home, and that although the blood of Sindhis had not dried, haleem and pulao parties were being arranged. He said: We want the right to gain our freedom. Our program at present includes only [a demand for] confederation, but if the situation is not understood, then conditions will deteriorate.

It appears that the leaders of the confederation group have adopted a new program. They are not afraid of the People's Party, and they do not look upon it as their adversary. But they have made the National People's Party and other parties that believe in federation the targets of their criticism. When the 1973 constitution was established, Hafeez Pirzada was delighted. He considered himself to be the champion of a policy of federation, and he described the 1973 constitution as a most valuable gift for Sind. Habibullah Narejo, former president of the Jiye Sind Student Federation, says: When Hafeez Pirzada got the 1973 constitution approved, the federation members declared him the assassin of the Sindhis. At the time, Hafeez Pirzada was about to receive an honorary doctorate degree at a Sind University convocation for his role in the creation of the 1973 constitution. Begum Nusrat Bhutto, Ra'na Liaqat Ali Khan and Mumtaz Bhutto were present at the convocation. Prof Ghulam Mustafa Shah, the vice chancellor of the University, had received assurances from the late Mr Bhutto that he would appoint him as Pakistan's ambassador to India, and for this reason professor Shah was cooperating with the government. Habibullah Narejo says: The federation members had warned the university administration that if as a result of the 1973 constitution Hafeez Pirzada was awarded a degree on university premises, then they would create a commotion. Disturbances broke out during the university convocation. Ismail wasan, a member of the Jiye Sind Student Federation, slapped Pirzada and then beat him up. One police constable was killed as a result of police firing. Pir Bakhsh Baloch, SP [superintendent of police] of Dadu District, died of a heart attack due to the violence. Ismail Waosan was arrested. Mumtaz Bhutto appealed passionately in the name of Sind and the people of Sind. The violence and emotion among the students subsided. But later Mumtaz Bhutto summoned everyone, even our family members, to the police station. This was the kind of tradition fostered by Mumtaz Bhutto. In any case, we are glad today that the champion of the 1973 constitution, Hafeez Pirzada, is himself opposed to it. This is a big success for our policy. This is why the Sindhi-Baluchi-Pakhtoon Front is the "B" team of the Jiye Sind movement." Habibullah Narejo adds: Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada are acting in accordance with the instructions of G.M.Syed. We all have a common goal, and that is Sindhudesh, and we will later form a confederation with that country in the interest of Sind." It would not be out of place to mention here that Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada used the word "liberation" during their tour of the interior of Sind and have declared the freedom of Sind a certainty. The Front leaders, through their "policy of the gun" in the rural areas, have given the impression that Pakistan will

break up into pieces and that Sind will become free. They have also reminded Sindhis of the feeling of being reduced to the status of "Red Indians." Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada are trying to become "Sheaikh Mujeeb" in Sind. But Hafeez Pirzada says that sheikh Mujeeb had demanded two constituent assemblies, whereas we are still asking for one constituent assembly. Mumtaz Bhutto and Hafeez Pirzada have not been able to break the magic of "Jiye Bhutto" in the rural areas, but they can influence Sindhi-speaking scholars, educated workers and middle class people with their idea of confederation. It must be stated here that any attempt made by them to impose the idea of confederation with the help of a "policy of weapons" is bound to create political opposition.

9315/12951

CSO: 4656/10

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

6 Feb 87